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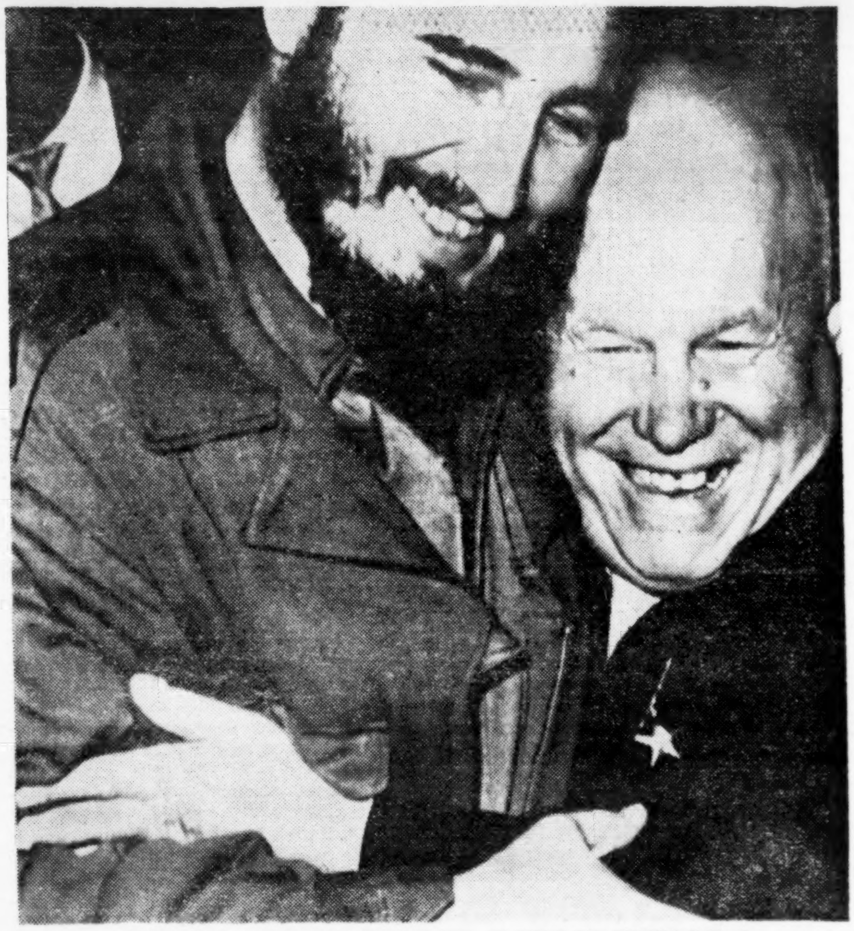


HARLEM: THE DAY THAT MR. K MET UP WITH DR. C.
And in Havana they renamed the Hotel Riviera the Theresa

WHERE THE CANDIDATES STAND—I

Peace or cold war: How Nixon and Kennedy compare

> *"On military defense, foreign policy and other national security programs there is no substantial difference between the parties and between their national candidates. The objectives are exactly the same, so are most of the major details, and the issue turns on which candidate has the better personal capacity to achieve them."* —Arthur Krock, New York *Times*, Oct. 1, 1960

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent
(First of a series)

WASHINGTON

ON THE CENTRAL issue of peace and the cold war there is no significant difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms, candidates, and records. Both are committed to militant pursuit of the cold war, substantially increased arms spending, continued nuclear arms manufacture and tests, and uncompromising hostility to China and Cuba. In each party recently, tendencies towards easing the cold war have been pushed into the background and the more aggressive elements have pushed to the fore.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties base their foreign policy on the assertion that the socialist world poses a grave threat of military aggression in the Hitler pattern. Both would counter this by building a huge deterrent military power unequalled by any other nation.

The Republican Party platform says: "We confront today the global offensive of communism, increasingly aggressive and violent in its enterprises. The agency of that offensive is Soviet policy, aimed at the subversion of the world." It declares a policy of "firmness" based on "military might . . . forged into a power second to none."

FINGER SHAKER: Vice President Nixon bases his campaign on the image of himself shaking his finger at Soviet Premier Khrushchev in the famous 1959 Moscow "kitchen debate." For a time Nixon defended the Eisenhower administration against the attacks of Governor Rockefeller and Democratic leaders, charging that inadequate military spending had weakened U.S. security.

Then, on July 23, 1960, on the eve of the Republican convention, Nixon joined

(Continued on Page 3)

THE 15TH UN ASSEMBLY

Big issues are laid on line by Mr. K and neutral nations

By Kumar Goshal

SEPT. 22 AND 23 may go down in history as the two days that shook the United Nations more profoundly than at any time since the bitter debates on UN involvement in the Korean civil war.

During these two days in the General Assembly President Eisenhower made his valedictory address, full of good will and platitudes; and Yugoslavia's President Tito, Ghana's President Nkrumah and Soviet Premier Khrushchev spoke straight from the shoulder, bringing out into the open issues Eisenhower had ignored.

As the GUARDIAN went to press, UN members were preparing for further jolts from Cuba's Castro, the United Arab Republic's Nasser, India's Nehru, Indonesia's Sukarno and Guinea's Toure.

STRUCTURE OF PEACE: In a speech aimed largely at the new African members, Eisenhower in effect came out squarely against sin, even if there was a simple eloquence in his concluding remarks:

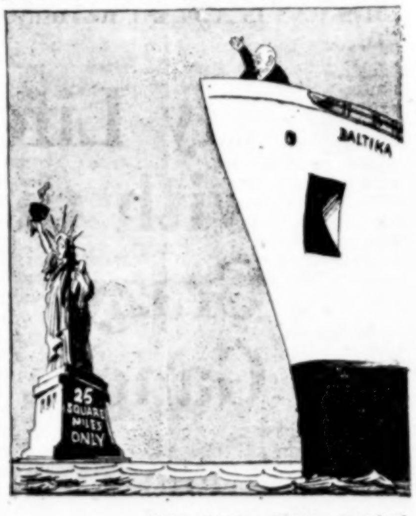
"Let us not delude ourselves that the absence of war alone is a sufficient basis for a peaceful world . . . We of the U.S. will join you in making a mounting effort to build the structure of true peace—a peace in which all peoples may progress constantly to higher levels of human achievement . . . Let us go forward together, leaving none behind. Thank you and God bless you."

His speech in the main, however, was composed of generalities, significant omissions and proposals no one could firmly grasp. He proposed an "attack on poverty, illiteracy and disease" in underdeveloped countries through the UN, but said nothing about the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) ardently desired by these countries.

WHAT HE OVERLOOKED: Eisenhower urged "non-interference in the African countries' internal affairs," but overlooked interference by West European and American investors in many of these countries. He extolled the "American concept . . . of unity and freedom" but did not condemn divisive tactics fomented in the Congo by the West and had not a syllable in sympathy for the aspirations of Algerians, Kenyans, South Africans and other Africans still struggling for freedom. He offered a U.S. contribution to a $100,000,000 UN fund for the Congo, overlooking the fact that Belgian-British-U.S. interests in Katanga were trying to sever from the Congo its main source of wealth.

The President recommended resumption of disarmament talks, but stuck to previous U.S. proposals that had led to the deadlock, including insistence on comprehensive inspection beforehand. Instead of a nuclear test ban, he suggested a controlled system for ending the manufacture of fissionable material for military use.

Eisenhower's most glaring omission was any reference to Peking. He emphasized that the UN was the only channel through which humanity can "make real and universal progress toward the goal of peace with justice"; but he never explained how the UN could play such a role nor how disarmament could be



Vicky, London Evening Standard

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McDONALD OFFERS MANAGEMENT A NO-STRIKE PLAN

Steel union tough on rebels but soft on companies

By Robert E. Light

TWO SPECTERS haunted AFL-CIO United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald at the union's 10th Constitutional Convention in Atlantic City during the week of Sept. 19. One was a crisis in the industry which kept half a million steel workers unemployed or on short weeks. The other was a growing revolt against his leadership which would be measured in elections next February.

To the economic problems he turned his finest oratory; to the personal challenge he bared his fist. Some felt a reversal of tactics would have better suited the needs of the union.

Automation and mechanization have eliminated 100,000 jobs in the steel mills in the last decade. Many more are expected to be idled as the industry "modernizes." Under existing contracts there is little the union can do to protect jobs. Even with the existing work force, the industry can turn out in eight or nine months all the steel it can sell in a year.

PROMISE BETRAYED: At the union's convention in 1958 McDonald promised to press the companies for a shorter work week as a means of spreading the work and saving jobs. At pre-negotiation meetings last year he repeated his promise. But at the bargaining table he dropped the demand as too costly for management.

After a 116-day strike which pressed the union to the wall, McDonald signed contracts which continued management's right to introduce new machinery. To settle the problems of technological unemployment, the union and the companies set up a joint Human Relations Research Committee.

After the strike the steel industry boomed for a short while and then it fizzled. Mills have been running at 50% of capacity for months. Some companies blame the bust on the drop in auto sales;

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

For more clarity

HAWTHORNE, CALIF.

We would like more clarity and leadership in the present national political campaign. We need answers for the people who have had illusions concerning the Democratic Party. Many are now looking for alternatives especially on the issue of peace. The people ask about the possibility of a write-in campaign for President.

If the registration of a protest vote were ever correct, would it not be of value now? Could it not draw out those independent voters who at this point have decided to stay away from the polls in November?

Even though late, it seems imperative that political work independent of the two-party system be initiated. Such independent work as is now being done by SANE, the campaign for the Forand Bill and civil rights for the Negro people could be accelerated by relation to the electoral process and extended to include action against universal military training. Rights for minority parties could be included by a unifying force such as the GUARDIAN.

A group of readers

For Adlai write-in

CLEVELAND, OHIO

In the presidential candidates we have a fine example of the method of "divide and rule." The selection of the two major candidates appears to be a deliberate attempt to confuse the American people at a time when our country is desperately working to retain world leadership.

Should we start chain letters for a write-in of a leftist candidate, or shall we write in Adlai Stevenson? The latter action, suggested by Pauline Maichel (GUARDIAN, Aug. 8), I believe would produce the best results under present conditions.

It seems to me millions of people will not vote for President this year unless they can vote for a candidate of more promise rather than more promises.

Julius A. Sobon

Independent alternatives

HUNTINGTON, N.Y.

This year the two major political candidates are more alike (so much as to almost be twins) than ever before. Thus it is most imperative that there be independent alternatives to whom progressives can at least give a protest vote.

I would like to see a long article on every independent progressive campaign: how it is doing in its struggle for ballot status, what its platform is, and what we can do to help it.

Hale Zukas

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"The vote you cast in this election may be a vote for your own life," warned Congressman Francis E. Dorn last Wednesday. Rep. Dorn explained that the next President may have to decide whether this country uses its tremendous nuclear power which could bring death to one-third of the world. "Let us hope he never has to make this decision," Dorn said, "but if he does, which man would you rather have in the White House?"

—Brooklyn **Heights Press,** Sept. 22

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: F. K., New York City.

SWP or SLP?

LITTLE NECK, N.Y.

Many liberals, independents and progressives are disenchanted with the candidates of the two major parties. Why hasn't the GUARDIAN evaluated the program and outlook of the Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties—the only parties trying to win a place on the ballot in New York and other states, so that readers can decide which, if either, presents an acceptable alternative to Kennedy-Nixon?

H. T.

For Martin Luther King

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Since there is no pacifist position represented in the parties running candidates for the national election, why not write in Martin Luther King Jr. for President as a protest vote? He is a well-known national symbol of nonviolent direct action, a policy our country could well adopt.

Mrs. Orin D. Doty

For Kennedy

CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.

It would seem inconceivable that progressive-minded persons would willingly help Nixon become the next President. Yet, judging by the political moods and attitudes now observable in certain progressive circles, many opponents of everything Nixon stands for may find themselves contributing very effectively to putting him in.

Some of these good people say they will abstain from voting for either Kennedy or Nixon on the ground that there is no difference between them. This has the appearance of taking no responsibility for the outcome. The abstainers may wake up on the morrow of the election and find that they have presented Nixon with a majority in the Electoral College and have assumed responsibility for Nixon. The fact that they have acted in the belief that both are no good will not change their responsibility.

The same result, by the way, can be attained by voting the presidential tickets of the Socialist Labor Party or the Socialist Workers Party.

It is my belief that the cause of people's welfare, civil rights and world peace might achieve a significant breakthrough if all American believers in peaceful social progress would unite their efforts around the Economic Bill of Rights, and the other economic planks of the Democratic party platform, and would seek to make these promises come true. This means voting for the presidential candidate of the Democratic party.

Alexander Bittelman

Oust the rascals

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Republicans have had ample time since the Civil War to correct all our evils but they have failed to do so and I recommend that they be fired out of office in the November elections.

Donald Eakins

Blue plate special

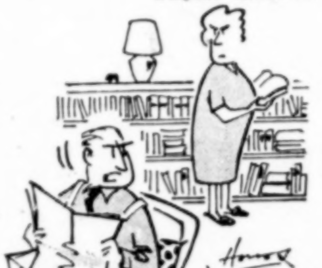
SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.

Why should we passively accept the unappetizing bill of fare offered on the menus of our two outworn political parties?

Can't we provide a nourishing diet of our own choosing? Think of a Blue Plate Special headed by Rev. Martin Luther King for President and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for Vice President.

Can't we organize a write-in campaign to show how we feel about the two old parties and what they stand for?

Phyllis Zakheim



London Daily Star

"Tears I can stand, but don't start playing on my heart strings with facts."

The futile dream

WHEATFIELD, IND.

I have just read Kennedy's article about The National Purpose (**Life,** Aug. 22). It is full of pious platitudes and through it all runs a vein of The Futile Dream. He mentions all the fine things that we should be active for—but adds that we must not expect such a "dream" to come true.

He mentions his sympathy for economic have-nots. Such sympathy runs quite hollow from a millionaire. We can expect little change for the better under either Kennedy or Nixon.

Clarence Speyer

A word of thanks

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We would like to express our thanks to the many GUARDIAN readers who supported the petition campaign to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in New York State. Their support helped make a tremendous task much easier. They will be pleased to know that 23,189 signatures were filed with the Secy. of State Sept. 14.

By filing almost double the required number of signatures, we feel confident that an alternative to the two major party swindle will appear on the ballot in this state, enabling a vote for Dobbs and Weiss.

Ethel Lobman

On Sept. 21, the Secretary of State notified the SWP that objections to its petition had been filed by Monroe Goldwater, chairman of the State Legal Commission of the Democratic Party.—Ed.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

WHERE BIG BUSINESS does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth . . .

It is the theory of democratic government that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them.

Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. [Republicans] can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it.

The point of agreement between the so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis . . .

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition: "There can be no progress without peace."

—From a speech by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois at an American Labor Party campaign rally in New York City as printed in the National Guardian Oct. 4, 1950.

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REPORT TO READERS

The voter's dilemma

RARELY IN MODERN AMERICAN HISTORY have the Presidential candidates of the major parties produced such a combination of distaste, confusion and bitterness on the part of the voters. See the letters on this page. Admittedly the majority come from progressive voters who have long been disenchanted with the programs and candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. But similar expressions of disquiet and disgust have come from an untold number of liberals, as reported in surveys in the New York **Times** and other publications and polls. And just a few days ago, on Sept. 23, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), no liberal by the standards of anyone's imagination, told the Executive Clubs of Chicago: "I'm afraid we're going to have an apathetic vote this year. I don't find the American electorate all fired up on either side."

The fires indeed have been dampened in this election in this critical year. In a week in which the New York **Times** on a Saturday (usually lean news day) devoted 13 solid pages of news and comment to the dramatic United Nations Assembly meeting, the best that the Presidential candidates could muster was a pathetic warning to Mr. Khrushchev not to mistake the democratic election process as a sign of a divided American people in the face of the Bolshevik menace. Then each returned to his "basic speech," replete with platitudes, produced at each stop for audiences longing to hear something fresh. The newspapermen accompanying the candidates are screaming in print for relief from their boredom.

THE POLITICAL MAIL TO THE GUARDIAN has been increasing as election day approaches and the dilemma of the voter deepens. Some readers have unenthusiastically called for a vote for Kennedy as the "lesser evil." A few have even sought to make out a case for Nixon as the lesser evil—a course which some independent union leaders have been pursuing. Many have urged a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party or the Socialist Labor Party. (These parties will be on the ballot in several states, although the major parties seek to knock them off where they can—as witness the SWP fight in New York to stay on.) Many more have suggested a write-in vote, but this poses an almost insurmountable problem.

In fact, on election day, you vote not for the Presidential candidate but for a slate of electors whose number equals the number of Congressmen and Senators in your state (in New York, for example, there are 45 electors). These electors are elected by the two parties at meetings of the state committees. Some states print the names of the actual candidates, others only the names of the electors. The electors receiving the highest number of votes are elected.

What do you do if you want to cast a write-in vote for a candidate not on the ballot? Each automatic voting machine has a slot at the top of each column of offices, and behind this slot is a roll of paper. If you want to vote for a write-in Mayor, you open the slide covering the blank paper and write in the name.

But in the Presidential balloting, if you write in, say, the name of Adlai Stevenson, you will be registering a **preference,** but **not** casting a vote. To cast a write-in Presidential vote, you would have to ask a reluctant inspector for the list of electors. Then you would cross off the names of electors you do not want and add the names of persons you do want. Then you would have to paste the triangular gummed slip of paper on the slide.

Thus, it is clear, a write-in vote for President is virtually impossible under the present archaic system of the Electoral College. In the face of this situation an increasing number of readers are suggesting that the best possible protest would be mass abstention in the Presidential balloting. This sentiment has taken hold enough for a group to be formed that calls itself Americans for Sitting This One Out Together. It urges abstention from voting "in such a concerted manner that there can be no mistake about it, no chance of the bi-partisan apologists rationalizing away our so-called apathy."

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION has been a major topic at GUARDIAN editorial conferences and will continue to be as we formulate a policy which we will share with you. As a first step in this process we have asked Russ Nixon, our Washington correspondent and one of the most knowledgeable men in the capital, to analyze the records of the two parties—candidates, platforms and promises—on the major issues: world affairs and defense; civil rights and civil liberties; labor, and economic and social legislation (see p. 1).

We do this in the belief that the dilemma facing the voter today makes even more urgent the need for political information and political action on the critical issues that confront the nation and the world. We foresee no miracles between now and election day, but we remain persuaded that there is plenty that an honestly informed voter can do in the weeks until the elections—and thereafter.

—THE GUARDIAN

The issue of peace or cold war

(Continued from Page 1)

Rockefeller in publicly calling for increased arms spending to build " a nuclear second-strike capacity—a nuclear retaliatory power capable of surviving surprise attack to inflict devastating punishment on any aggressor, and a modern, flexible and balanced military establishment capable of deterring or meeting any local aggression." Nixon and Rockefeller agreed that this requires "more and improved bombers, airborne alert, speeded production of missiles and Polaris submarines, accelerated dispersal and hardening of bases . . ."

ME, TOO: On Sept. 20, in his first major nationwide campaign speech, Democratic candidate Sen. John F. Kennedy said that his first step as President would be to "send to the Congress a special message requesting the funds necessary to give us a nuclear retaliatory power second to none, make it invulnerable to surprise attack, and add conventional forces so mobile and modern that they can stamp out any brush fire before it starts."

Comparing the Republican and Democratic foreign policy platforms, the New York **Times** (July 27) found the Republican plank "different in tone . . . more strident, more military minded, tougher in approach—but not fundamentally different in the basic essentials."

The Democratic platform "pledges our will, energies, and resources to oppose communist aggression," asserts that the Republicans have "for reasons of economy . . . dangerously slashed" our military strength and promises to close "the missile gap, limited war gap."

KENNEDY'S CHARGE: Sen. Kennedy bases his campaign on charges that the Eisenhower-Nixon administration has weakened our military strength. On Aug. 26, 1960, he told the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Detroit: "The harsh facts of the matter are that our security and leadership are both slipping away from us—that the balance of world power is slowly shifting to the Soviet-Red Chinese bloc—and that our own shores are for the first time since 1812 imperiled by chinks in our defensive armor."

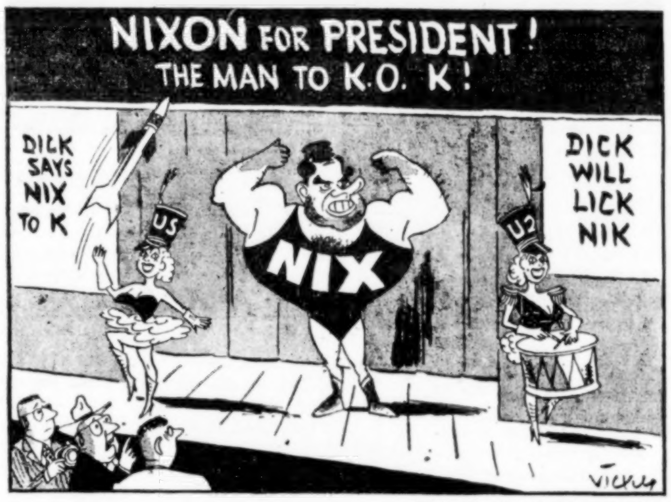
In Virginia (Aug. 24) Kennedy attacked Nixon's claim of superior experience by asking: "Why would anyone boast about presiding over the [National] Security Council during the years it rejected the now accepted finding of the Gaither Report, the Killian Report, and the Rockefeller Report?" On Sept. 21, when Kennedy proposed budget increases to implement the support of these step-up-the-cold-war reports, he warned: "There is little time. The enemy is lean and hungry—and we are the only sentinel at the gate."

In California, on Sept. 11, Sen. Kennedy asserted that "our country faces its greatest military peril since Valley Forge." He said that to deal with Khrushchev "requires only one kind of defense policy—not a policy of ceilings and limitations, not a policy set by narrow-minded men in the budget bureau, not a policy which places a balanced budget ahead of a balance of power, but a policy that will keep America the strongest country in the world. That is the policy of the Democratic party and that is the policy we will begin in January."

WORTH A WAR: Sen. Kennedy revealed his basic foreign affairs attitude on July 31, 1959, when he discussed the Berlin situation on TV. He said: "Our position in Europe is worth a nuclear war because if you are driven from Berlin you are driven from Germany. And, if you are driven from Europe, you are driven from Asia and Africa, and then our time will come next. You have to indicate your willingness to go to the ultimate weapon."

This followed his appearance on the TV program **Face the Nation** (Feb. 22 1959) when he said he agreed with Secretary of State Dulles on Berlin. He opposed Army Secretary Quarles' plan to "thin out" U.S. troops in Berlin, and said he "would certainly put a good deal more effort into perfecting our military posture in West Germany and throughout Europe in preparation for what is going to be a great climax and possibly a show-down."

SAME POD: Both Kennedy and Nixon and their parties assert a willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union and declare their devotion to the goal of disarmament. The Republican platform says: "The Eisenhower-Nixon administration has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in earnest with the Soviet Union to arrive at just settlements for the reduction of world tensions. We pledge the new administration to continue in the same course." The Democratic platform addresses itself to "The Rulers of the Communist World" and says: "We are prepared to negotiate with you whenever and wherever there is a realistic possibility of progress without sacrifice of principle."



"Gee, I don't know what he does to K, but he sure frightens me . . ."

Vicky, London Evening Standard

Both parties blame Premier Khrushchev for the breakdown of the Paris Summit meeting. The Republicans justify the U-2 spy plane flights and call for "constant intelligence operations regarding communist military preparations to prevent another Pearl Harbor." Nixon attacks Kennedy for his "rash and impulsive suggestion that President Eisenhower should apologize and send regrets to Mr. Khrushchev for the U-2 flight." The Democratic platform does not condemn the spy-plane flights, but merely deplores their "mishandling."

Both parties handle the seeming contradictions between their support of disarmament and their advocacy of increased arms spending by explaining that they would "arm to parley," that only when and if the U.S. has superior military strength can it achieve effective negotiations and make disarmament a practicality.

AGREE ON CHINA: Both platforms and candidates oppose diplomatic recognition of China and its seat in the United Nations. The Republican opposition is more rigid than the Democrats', who qualify their opposition as applying to the "present." On June 14, Kennedy said: "We must work to improve our communications with mainland China." He suggested that China could be brought into the Geneva nuclear test ban talks as a prelude to other contacts. Vice President Nixon said (Feb. 6) that the policy of exclusion will change "only when the policies of the Chinese government change."

When Congress on Aug. 17, 1959, passed its usual resolution against admitting China to the UN, only four Democratic Congressmen were recorded in opposition: William Meyer (Vt.), Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio), Charles O. Porter (Ore.), and Byron L. Johnson (Colo.). Democrats make up a majority of the 271 members of Congress who have signed the "Committee of One Million's" extremist attack on China.

BOTH AGAINST CUBA: Kennedy and Nixon have competed with each other in expressing hostility to Cuba. Kennedy thus far is ahead with his statement to the AMVETS Convention on Aug. 26: "For the first time in our history, an enemy stands at the throat of the United States. There is no doubt of the communist orientation of the Castro government. They are our enemies and will do everything in their power to bring about our downfall. They are not only a Soviet satellite but they are trying to spread their revolution throughout South America."

BOTH FOR 'LIBERATION': The so-called "captive nations"—Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia—are promised aid towards "independence" by both parties. The Democratic platform pledges: "We will hasten [liberation] by every honorable and responsible means . . . We shall never accept any deal or arrangement which acquiesces in the present subjugation of these peoples."

Kennedy chose Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.)—the most virulent witch-hunter in Congress—to represent him at a (called off) New York rally of the Assembly of Captive European Nations coinciding with the opening of the UN Assembly and to say for him that "the cause of the captive nations was close to his heart." The Republican Party plank "reaffirmed its determination to use every peaceful means to help the captive nations toward their independence."

VIE ON COLD WAR: The effective foreign policy pressures within the Republican Party have made for a more rigid and aggressive cold war stand. Both the forces around Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.) and Rockefeller at the Republican convention were ranged against any easing of tensions; all advocated increased arms spending. The Republican direction is indicated by the names raised for Secretary of State under Nixon: Rockefeller; Thomas E. Dewey; Chase National Bank head John McCloy; Undersecretary of State Douglas Dillon Jr. a former Dillon-Read banker; Rep. Walter Judd (Minn.), a China Lobbyist and Republican keynoter.

Within the Democratic Party the elements inclined toward easing the cold war have gathered around Adlai Stevenson. They, of course, were rejected at the Democratic convention. Now many liberals are basing their hope for a change in the cold war policies of the Democratic Party on the influence of Stevenson and Rep. Chester Bowles (Conn.), an adviser to Sen. Kennedy on foreign policy. A campaign is being pressed to have Kennedy name Stevenson as his Secretary of State. The Democratic candidate has refused to commit himself.

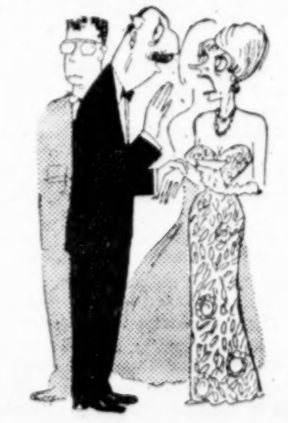
ADLAI AND BOWLES: Several considerations suggest doubt about the high hopes placed on Stevenson and Bowles. Neither has taken sharp and consistent positions on the key foreign policy issues. At best they have been flexible but ambivalent. Bowles, for example, has not associated himself with the small group of Democratic Congressmen who seek an end to nuclear tests and oppose transfer of atomic weapons. Neither has joined the "Liberal Project" on foreign policy. How does one relate the Bowles-Stevenson role, for example, to Sen. Kennedy's stand on Cuba and his emphasis on more arms spending?

Most relevant is the likelihood that the Stevenson-Bowles role will be limited to attracting voters before the election. This is clearly indicated by Kennedy's appointment on Aug. 30 of a panel of four experts to guide him on national security and cold war problems during the initial stages of his administration. All are advocates of intensified cold war. The chairman is Paul H. Nitze, long a partner in the Dillon-Read Wall Street investment banking firm. He was until recently a Republican who served as a principle policy guide to Truman's Secretary of State Dean Acheson when the cold war was being launched. The others are Roswell L. Gilpatrick, a partner in the Wall Street firm Cravath, Swaine and Moore, a Rockefeller supporter and an author of the Rockefeller Report, "International Security—The Military Aspect," which urged an expanded cold war; James A. Perkins, a Republican, one of the group responsible for the Gaither Report in 1957 which rang the alarm to increase arms spending; and David K. E Bruce, a Democratic businessman and lawyer who served as U.S. High Commissioner in West Germany and Ambassador to France.

BIPARTISANSHIP: Behind the 1960 campaign bipartisan support of the cold war is a long record of Congressional and Executive bipartisanship on foreign policy. Except for minor quarrels about "performance," there has been no serious Republican-Democratic policy differences since the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were launched. Thus the principle divergence noted by the Democrats (**Democratic Digest,** Sept., 1960) is that on numerous appropriations votes between 1953 and 1959 the Republicans voted "against increased military strength while Democrats supported such measures."

The tiny handful of Representatives and Senators who have seriously dissented from various cold war policies have not had the support of candidates or leadership of either party. Only four Congressmen dissented from the sharp anti-China resolution in 1959; 25 urged that nuclear tests not be resumed in 1960; 24 opposed the transfer of nuclear weapons to additional nations in 1960; 12 joined in James P. Warburg's "Liberal Project" seeking ways out of the cold war.

In neither convention did the enlightened views that many would ascribe to Stevenson and Bowles arise to disturb the unbroken chain of Soviet-baiting and cold war tub-thumping.



Lancaster, London Daily Express

"Maudie! For the sake of Anglo-American friendship and world peace, will you please stop recalling exactly what you said to Joe Kennedy back in 1939?"

RELIGION: Nixon is a Quaker, a member of the Friends Society. This has not kept him from siding with the most aggressively militarist influences in his party. In contrast, many persons who are utterly hostile to the viciously bigoted anti-Catholicism that has arisen in this campaign are deeply worried about Sen. Kennedy as a Catholic in relation to the cold war. Lacking any demonstration and record to the contrary, there is concern that a President attuned ideologically and politically to the Catholic Church will be inclined towards pursuing an aggressive cold war course as part of a holy war against communism.

The UN Assembly

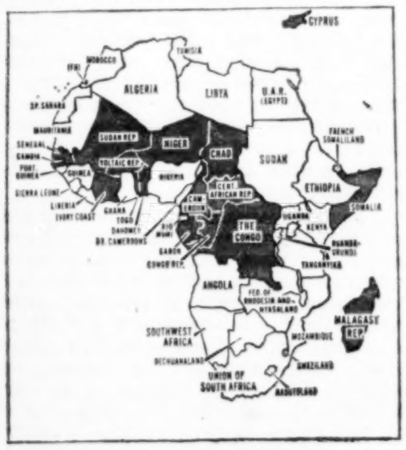
(Continued from Page 1)

achieved without the participation of the Chinese People's Republic.

TITO'S ADDRESS: The gaps in the Eisenhower speech were filled in by the speakers who followed: Tito, Nkrumah and Khrushchev. More than that, they brought up concrete issues more fully reflecting the causes of world tension, the present composition of the UN, the status of the colonial world, the desires of the newly-freed African states, the lessons learned from the Congo conflict and the world alignment of forces.

In a wide-ranging address, Marshal Tito noted that the West was still pursuing the distastrous "positions of strength" policy and creating greater concern by rearming West Germany and equipping the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. He criticized Western support for France, without which President de Gaulle could not continue the war in Algeria. He attributed the conflicts and crises arising in the Congo, Cuba, Laos and West Irian (claimed by Indonesia) to the attempts by colonial powers to continue economic exploitation behind a facade of independence. He accused the UN forces in the Congo of not carrying out the sense of the Security Council resolutions.

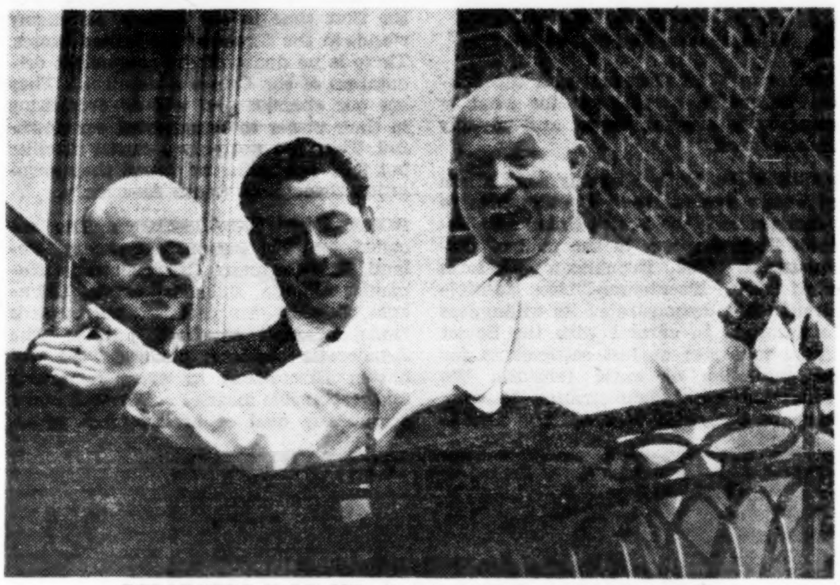
FREEDOM OF CHOICE: Regarding aid to underdeveloped countries, Tito said the meager contributions of the rich countries made UN aid insufficient; he asserted the right of the poorer countries to seek such aid wherever they could without political, economic or other conditions.



NEW UN MEMBERS
Shaded areas show newly admitted African states. Admission of the Federation of Mali is still pending because of Senegal's withdrawal from the federation created by France.

Tito attributed the failure of the Paris summit conference to the U-2 spy flight. He said: "It cannot be assumed that it is possible, at one and the same time, successfully to negotiate and violate the sovereignty and national frontier of the negotiating partner." Without questioning the need for adequate control, he said that "to insist upon the introduction of far-reaching measures of control before undertaking measures of actual disarmament is only another way of opposing disarmament."

The Yugoslav President said that "satisfactory compromises regarding the control problem" would be possible if control were viewed within the context "of the achievement of certain practical measures within a given process." As practical steps, he cited as achievable now a nuclear test ban; reduction of military expenditures and utilization of savings thus effected for aid to underdeveloped lands, and disengagement in Central Europe.



REPORTERS WOO MR. K ON A NEW YORK BALCONY
Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov and Victor Sukodriev served as interpreters

THE RISKS INVOLVED: "These measures," he added, "should provide a pattern of advance . . . towards general disarmament." But he warned:

"Once the idea of a partial agreement is accepted, we must be ready to face the fact that such an agreement will fall short of perfection. The risks involved are obviously incomparably smaller than those contained in the present completely uncontrolled armaments race."

Tito urged the 15th General Assembly to "reach at least a basic agreement" on renewal of disarmament negotiations. He said he attached great importance to this session because the issues involved were of interest to all states, large and small, and should be resolved through the UN—the organization established for this purpose. And for effective action, he added, Peking should take its rightful place in the UN.

THE CONGO TEST: Nkrumah devoted a large part of his address to the Congo, which he called "a test case for Africa." Without naming UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold, he attributed the continued conflicts in the Congo to the UN forces' failure to live up to the Security Council resolution to assist the Lumumba government, and to the use of these forces by imperialist powers as a cover for intrigue.

Nkrumah called for (1) the withdrawal of all non-African troops from the Congo to make it easy "to identify and eliminate the Belgian troops who have been infiltrating into the territory in defiance of the Security Council;" (2) placing the African troops in the Congo under an African command responsible only to the Security Council; (3) disarming of all dissident forces and confiscation of their arms; (4) recognition of the Kasavubu-Lumumba government; (5) channelling of all aid through the UN and directly to the Congo government, under the supervision of a committee of African states responsible to the UN.

He said that only external intrigue had prevented a Kasavubu-Lumumba reconciliation under the auspices of the Ghanaian Ambassador.

FREEDOM FOR ALL: He also urged the following:

- Complete independence for all remaining African colonies.
- A permanent seat for Africa, Asia and the Middle East in the UN Security Council, when the Charter comes to be revised.
- UN intervention to stop the Algerian war and freedom for Algeria.
- Steps by the UN and France's friends to halt further French nuclear tests scheduled for the Sahara so that Africans can "know which of the great powers . . . hold African opinion in so little regard that . . . they are prepared to sacrifice African friendship for the interests of appeasing French pride and ambition."
- Elimination of bases in Africa occupied by nuclear powers.
- Non-alignment by African states with power blocs.
- Disarmament inspection teams composed of neutral nations, "since the great powers suspect each other so much."
- UN recognition of the People's Republic of China.

WHAT MR. K SAID: Khrushchev's address created the greatest furor and was most thoroughly misinterpreted. The Soviet Premier also advocated freedom for all the remaining colonial countries, including Algeria; UN recognition of China; withdrawal of non-African troops from the Congo and recognition of the "legally elected" government of Premier Lumumba; admission to the UN of the Mongolian People's Republic; elimination of military bases on foreign soil; and use of savings from disarmament to aid underdeveloped countries.

He reminded the Assembly that his government on several occasions had met the Western powers more than halfway in disarmament discussions, only to find them shifting their positions and raising new conditions. He emphasized that nuclear test suspension and the first steps to disarmament were within reach if the Western powers did not insist on comprehensive control before any step to disarmament. He also noted that peaceful coexistence, which Moscow advocated, "is already a reality and has found international recognition," and "the question now is how to make peaceful coexistence secure."

THREE PROPOSALS: But the real sensation came in three further Khrushchev proposals. Looking at the UN and the world situation realistically, and noting the reception some UN delegations had met in the U.S., the Soviet Premier proposed (1) that neutral nations be included in future disarmament negotiations; (2) suggested replacing the UN Secretary General with a three-man executive composed of a representative each from the East and West and the neutral countries; (3) transferring the UN headquarters to Switzerland or Austria or even the Soviet Union, where delegates would suffer no indignities or racial discrimination.

U.S. officials and press immediately launched a violent attack on the Soviet Premier. Secy. of State Herter called the speech "a declaration of war" on the UN and Eisenhower was said to have agreed. Chief U.S. delegate to the UN James Wadsworth accused Khrushchev of attempting "to destroy the office and the very structure of the Secretary General, the Secretariat and through it to destroy the UN."

THE NEUTRAL NATIONS: Impartial observers, however, found nothing unreasonable in the suggestions, at least for the purposes of discussion. The composition of the UN clearly indicates the existence of a neutral group of nations, which will be augmented when other countries like Nigeria—which also supports neutralism—join the UN. Certainly this group has at least an equal stake in disarmament.

It was known in UN circles that the present chief of the UN mission in the Congo, Rajeshwar Dayal, former Indian Ambassador to the UN, was highly critical of the way his predecessors Ralph Bunche and Andrew Cordier had always consulted the U.S. and British Ambassadors to the Congo, neglected Lumumba and totally ignored the Soviet Ambassador. With Western economic interests spread across the under-developed areas of the world and Western military alliances literally surrounding the globe, it would be extremely difficult for the UN Secretary General to withstand Western pressure if the UN has to intervene in such countries as Laos. Under the circumstances, the Soviet proposal for a three-man executive surely merited consideration.

WHAT CHARTER SAYS: The UN Charter itself provides for revision of the UN structure, which would require a two-thirds majority in the Assembly, plus the unanimous support of the permanent members of the Security Council, which includes the U.S. This provides built-in protection for the U.S., should it be violently opposed to the Soviet suggestion.

And the best way to counter Khrushchev's suggestion to move the UN from the U.S. would obviously be for the U.S. to guarantee the courtesy to which all UN delegates are entitled.

Lincoln Vets amnesty march at UN Oct. 5

THE VETERANS of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will demonstrate at the United Nations on Wednesday, Oct. 5, from 5 to 7 p.m., on behalf of more than 6,000 political prisoners in Spain. Many of these men and women have been confined from 12 to 20 years.

Inquiries about the demonstration may be addressed to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 49 E. 21st St., Room 405, New York, N.Y.

Photo show opens in N.Y. at the Donnell Library Oct. 5

AN EXHIBITION by a group of 15 photographers will open in the gallery of the Donnell Library in New York City on Monday, Oct. 3, and will run for four weeks to the end of the month. The photographers are Ida Berman, Bernard Cole, Paolo Gasparini, Leo Goldstein, Mildred Grossman, George Krause, Nat Jaffe, Jack Lessinger, Sam Mahl, George Resch, Murry Rosenblum, Walter Rosenblum, Yetta Rosenblum, David Weixl and Murray Wise.

The group has been meeting informally for several years to discuss photography as an art and to evaluate the work of its members.

END ARMS RACE NOW
Assez de concurrence darmement
ПРЕКРАТИТЕ СОРЕВНОВАНИЕ
ВООРУЖЕНЬЯ

PACIFISTS CALL FOR PEACE IN THREE LANGUAGES
The boat was kept away from the Baltika, but the message got across

How New York greeted the 'uninvited' ones

By Joanne Grant

DESPITE A CAMPAIGN of insult and provocation by press, radio, TV, national and local government—and the President of the U.S.—the "unwelcome and uninvited" socialist and Cuban delegates to the United Nation's 15th Assembly went about their business without serious incident. In fact, in some instances, the "pro" demonstrations outnumbered the "anti" demonstrations staged by the organized Eastern European groups. And, as the week wore on, some sections of the press had second thoughts about the possible results of the homemade hysteria. On the whole, the city of New York took the week in stride.

The largest demonstration at the United Nations on opening day of the 15th General Assembly, Sept. 20, was a pro-peace gathering of over 500. The group, packed in behind police barricades on the northwest corner of 47th and First Av., walked round and round in tight quarters in orderly fashion carrying signs reading: "Welcome, "Let's Co-Exist," "Ban All Nuclear Weapons."

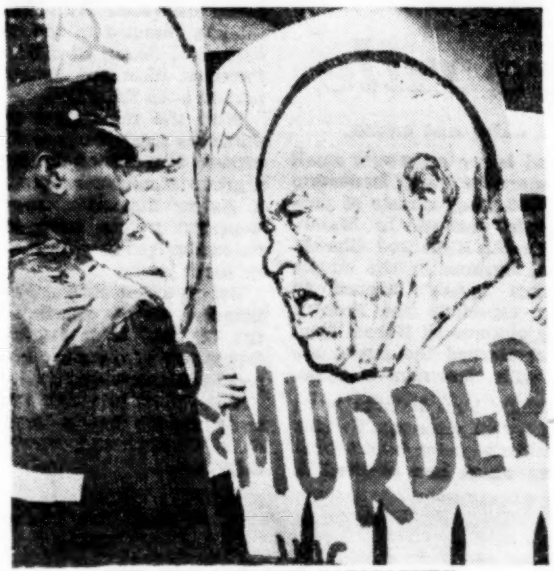
IT WASN'T NEWS: The demonstration, organized by a "Committee to Greet the 15th United Nations General Assembly" which included Mrs. Helen Alfred, Rev. Lee Ball, Sam Pevzner, Simon Federman, Rev. Richard Morford and Jeanette Turner, was almost completely ignored by the daily press.

In the Plaza on the north side of 47th Street a group of about 50 anti-Albanian Greeks carried signs protesting the control of Northern Epirus by Albania. Further along the Plaza toward Second Av. marched anti-Castro Cubans from the Christian Democratic Front and the White Rose. Between these two groups the Committee for Nonviolent Action picketed for peace and unilateral disarmament. The CNVA continued its picketing and a fast for five days.

On opening day there were five battles involving demonstrators, three of which were between Ukrainian pickets and the police. These caused the **Journal-American**, which until then had been whipping up a lynch spirit, to worry editorially (Sept. 22): "The riotous demonstrations organized by nationalist groups against Khrushchev and the Communist despots have reached such a pitch that they are threatening to do serious damage to American prestige."

Gov. Rockefeller, however, on a Minnesota campaign tour, said the next day that he "deeply sympathizes" with the demonstrators and thought they "have been remarkably restrained."

NOT SO SILENT: The New York **Herald Tribune** (Sept. 19) reported that the "silent" march staged by the so-called American Action committee, made up of "captive nations" groups and veterans organizations, was far from silent. Police used night sticks to keep the "screaming, sign-waving mass" of East Europeans in check.



THE COP AND THE CARICATURE
First Avenue had pockets of hate

The police banned a flag-raising ceremony of the Assembly of Captive Nations and a scheduled speech by Sen. Thomas E. Dodd (D-Conn.) was called off. In addition the State Department ordered a huge anti-Khrushchev poster across from the UN to be covered. This, according to the **Herald Tribune** (Sept. 23) was "an effort to minimize the friction created by his [Khrushchev's] visit here."

The origin of the friction was questionable. At the beginning of the week, in a talk to American nationality groups, President Eisenhower used the term "trouble makers," the New York **Times** reported (Sept. 20), "in an apparent reference to Premier Khrushchev, Prime Minister Fidel Castro and chiefs of Soviet satellite states."

WHITE HOUSE CUE: The tone had already been set by Eisenhower's unwillingness to head the U.S. delegation to the UN, and his determination not to meet with Premier Khrushchev. The theme was picked up by the press which was delighted with the shabby pier where the Khrushchev ship was to tie up, and the restricting of Khrushchev and Priemier Castro to Manhattan. The Cuban delegation was turned away at several hotels.

Press and radio outdid one another in ugly adjectives to describe Mr. Khrushchev's person and speeches. Dorothy Kilgallen in her **Journal-American** column (Sept. 20) wrote: 'A little fat man named Khrushchev has docked in a shabby ship [it actually was trim and sparkling white]. A dangerous psychopath called Castro insults the United States and we take it meekly . . . Who cares whether Castro and Khrushchev are secure? . . They are bad men, they are trouble-makers in the world . . ."

In view of the enormity of the job and the provocations, the police performance was on the whole good.

A FRIENDLY HARLEM: From the moment of his dramatic move to the Theresa, Premier Castro was greeted by large crowds of Negroes and Cubans. Over 2,000 cheered his arrival in the rain. The next day thousands lined the sidewalks and cheered as he and Mr. Khrushchev embraced in front of the Theresa. Each night crowds of 1,000 or more stood behind barricades across 125th St., looked up to the ninth floor windows and shouted for "Fidel!"

When a group walked down 125th St. carrying a sign reading, "Cuba builds integrated schools—here they are bombed," a group of Negro teen-agers cheered.

Castro was asked by a reporter how he felt about not having been invited by Eisenhower to lunch with delegates from other Latin American nations. He said: "We are not sad. We wish them a good appetite. I will be honored to lunch with the poor and humble people of Harlem. I belong to the poor, humble people."

On the positive side too, was an invitation by Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, to the Baltika seamen to visit his union's hall. Invitations were extended to Mr. Khrushchev by the Harvard Law School Forum, despite the travel ban limiting the Soviet Premier to Manhattan, and by students at City College. Cyrus Eaton, who was at the pier to welcome the Baltika, entertained Hungarian Premier Janos Kadar and on Sept 26 was host to 150 leading American businessmen and bankers at a luncheon honoring Mr. Khrushchev.

LONGSHOREMEN PICKET: The International Longshoremen's Union, which had announced plans for a huge sea-going anti-Khrushchev demonstration and a boycott of the pier, abandoned a plan to close the port when only 70 of an expected 300 men showed up to protest. The dockers sailed past the Baltika on a Hudson River Dayline boat carrying signs like: "Roses are Red, Violets Are Blue, Stalin Dropped Dead, How About You."

The lengths to which the demonstrators went was climaxed by the placing of signs reading "Murderer" and "Red Pig" in the hands of a six-year-old near the Soviet residence in Glen Cove, L.I., to which Mr. Khrushchev went for the weekend. Pro-American Asian and European newspapermen said they would not report the story: they said it would shock their readers back home.

THE UNACCEPTABLE 'PEACE'

De Gaulle's policy on Algeria hits a dead end after two years

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE CIRCLE has come full swing. After two years of solemn assurances, peace offers and behind-the-scenes contacts, after the first official Paris talks with the National Liberation Front at Melun last June that had the hopes of millions going with them, it appears today that de Gaulle's peace—the real intent behind the words and the proclamations—is not the kind the Algerians can accept. De Gaulle's Sept. 5 press conference—his last official utterance on Algeria before the current UN General Assembly meeting—marked the turn into a dead-end road.

Much was expected of that conference, and when it produced nothing that would lead to a resumption of this summer's Melun talks, the international and domestic press did not hide its disappointment. One Paris paper said bitterly that de Gaulle is at the same point where his predecessors left off two years ago—but "with more style."

Why weren't the Melun talks followed up? A phrase repeated daily by de Gaulle during his latest tour of the French provinces—"One must first lay down one's knife before entering the conference room"—gives credence to persistent rumors that de Gaulle, in behind-the-scene contacts with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (PGAR) in July and August, requested that the National Liberation Army be disbanded before official resumption of the talks. The FLN rejected the proposal outright.

As far as the French Army is concerned, de Gaulle has just reiterated that it will remain in Algeria through the Algerian self-determination referendum—if and when that "time of appeasement has come."

LONG DEBATE: The discussion of whether de Gaulle was unwilling or incapable of bringing the Algerian conflict to an end may go on for a long time. In PGAR circles, the conviction persists that in Melun he gave in to the Army. But even if this is so, the FLN is of the opinion today—as a PGAR member told an **Express** reporter—that it no longer has the right to facilitate the general's task; to continue to do so would be against the interests of the Algerian people and would be "treason to our dead."

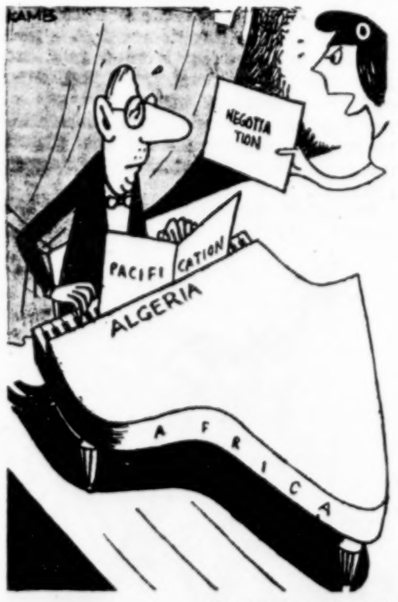
That the meaning behind such seemingly liberal offers as "self-determination"—the core of de Gaulle's peace proposals—was not quite what it appeared to be became clear at the Melun talks. The French satirical weekly **Le Canard Enchaine** has summed it up: "Self-determination as defined by de Gaulle: 'I decide that Algeria will decide what I decide.'"

Two years of this turning-in-circles have brought things to a point where the decisive moves in the Algeria question may be played elsewhere than in Paris from now on. The first move may well be Tunisia President Bourguiba's plan to federate his country with Algeria.

POSSIBLE SHOWDOWN: The Bourguiba project is considered here as more than a technical short-cut to enable the Tunisian President to plead Algeria's cause directly before the UN Security Council. It is seen as a possible means of precipitating a showdown—such as France extending its hostility to the new Tunisia-Algeria Federation and thus forcing immediate UN action in North Africa. Bourguiba has been known to favor drastic and potentially explosive steps several times in the past, particularly in his relations with France prior to Tunisian independence.

The Tunisian leader, who is one of Africa's shrewdest politicians, must take into account the rapid developments on the African continent where he intends to retain a star role. But the Algerian-Tunisian border being one of the sensitive spots of the Algerian war with an important part of FLN military and political activities having Tunisia for headquarters, Tunis' position between France (important for its present) and Africa (vital for its future) becomes untenable as the Algerian war is about to enter its seventh year.

THE CROSS ROADS: Whether or not Bourguiba's project becomes a reality, the UN debate on Algeria—because of the Congo and other African developments, and because of the obvious dead-end of the Franco-Algerian talks—will make France's position more difficult this year than ever before. Even more serious, it will severely strain de Gaulle's new and already shaken French Commonwealth. Sentimentally and politically, none of the newly independent, ex-French, young African states can afford to vote against Algeria, even if some, for various considerations, will stop short of a straight anti-French vote.



Kamb, Humanite, Paris
—Enough of that military music!

Much closer to home, London's two big Sunday papers, the **Observer** and the Sunday **Times**, have just suggested editorially that no matter what traditional and new alliances bind the two countries together, England can no longer afford to support France's Algerian position before the UN.

BEHIND THE UNREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Syria's fight to free itself from Cairo rule

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
(Last of three articles)

BEIRUT, LEBANON

CREATION of the United Arab Republic early in 1958 was greeted throughout the Arab world as an anti-imperialist union formed to defend Syria from the Baghdad Pact conspiracies directed against it from Turkey and Iraq throughout 1957.

Disillusionment came slowly but is now widespread in the Arab East and in Syria it is virtually complete. The crucial question today appears to be not whether Nasser's "Arab unity" will be extended but whether he can prevent the breakup of the U.A.R.

The answer lies in two related struggles: one between the Syrian people and the Egyptian regime; the other between Egypt and Iraq for control of Syria.

Syrian hostility to the union stems from these sources:

- Crippling of the country's economy by three years of drought and by Egyptian policies which, many Syrians believe, are deliberately designed to wreck its one-time prosperity.
- Suppression of political and civil rights; Egyptian occupation of top and key posts in every domain; Syria's complete subjugation to Nasser's dictatorship.
- Failure of Cairo's Arab policy which means that Syria, instead of leading a march toward a unified Arab nation as originally hoped, has become merely an Egyptian province.

PROMISES BETRAYED: Gen. Afif Bizri, Syrian chief of staff who headed the delegation which negotiated the union, demanded and received clearcut promises from President Nasser to respect Syria's autonomy and democracy and not to discriminate against any progressive political groups including the communists. Betrayal of these promises began almost immediately after union when Cairo quietly ordered Syrian papers to stop praising the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet-Syrian aid agreement.

Later, Popular Resistance forces were disbanded; Bizri was demoted to a non-existent planning commission in Cairo; May Day celebrations were prohibited; and the Baathists, who had taken all top government posts, were encouraged to drive progressives from the government, the trade unions and other organizations.

Following the Iraq revolution, which greatly disturbed Cairo because of the attraction a republican Iraq would have for Syria, President Nasser reorganized the government (Oct. 7, 1958) to make Syria's subjection to Egypt more complete. The failure of his succesive conspiracies against Iraq brought increasing restrictions and widespread arrests.

Resistance had begun on a very small scale under Communist Party leadership at the end of 1958 when arrests of progressives began in earnest. In March, 1959, during the U.A.R.-backed Shawaf revolt in Mosul, Syrians in the streets and marketplaces openly listened to Baghdad Radio, especially the People's Court, and tore pictures of Nasser from the walls. Mosul marked the first mass disillusionment with Nasserism in Syria.

BAATH CRUSHED: Four months later, in the National Union elections, Syrians showed their dislike of union by crushing the Baath Party which had inspired it. (The elections were relatively free because Nasser, wanting to liquidate the Baath and aware of its extreme unpopularity, shrewdly decided to let the Syrians do the job for him.)

By the fall of 1959, resentment had created such paralysis that Nasser sent Gen. Abdel Hakim Amr to Syria as his proconsul, and Amr was forced to grant some concessions to Syrian businessmen.

At that time Beirut's **L'Orient** pointed to the "cruel dilemma" Nasser faced: he must either liberalize his regime, granting Syria autonomy within a federation, or tighten controls, thereby risking an explosion that could destroy it. Yet if he granted Syria autonomy, Syria would inevitably align itself with Iraq.

Nasser chose to tighten both economic and political controls. A reorganization of local government, proclaimed March 29, in effect divided Syria into separate states, each with its own budget, taxes and authority, tied directly to the President (Nasser) through a Mayor appointed by him. Syrian CP leaflets compared this divide-and-rule arrangement to the French division of Syria into separate states before 1925.

THE ARMY: Before union, Syrian officers, who unlike their Egyptian counterparts, are politically literate and close to the people, were divided into three groups. The largest was led by Bizri and cooperated with the Communists; a Baathist group was centered around Mustafa Hamdoun; and a smaller number supported Serraj, then chief of intelligence and considered a leftist. In addition, there was a scattering of independents.

With the help of Baathist informers, Bizri's known supporters were scattered shortly after his departure by arrest, dismissal or transfer to Egypt. Resentment began to develop among the remaining officers because of restrictions imposed on their right to read and talk freely, and because of Egyptian practices introduced into their army, such as flogging soldiers (banned in the Syrian army as barbaric). Scores of officers were transferred or dismissed for refusing to take part in such floggings.

With the resignation of the Baathist ministers from the government, Baathist officers also turned against union. Only a group around Serraj, who had become a Nasser supporter, remained "loyal." Repeated purges have virtually eliminated the Syrian officer corps except for its lower ranks.

Before union, Syrian soldiers also participated in the people's struggles and the CP had been active among them. Now many of them are isolated from the people in the border regions near Israel.

The extent to which resistance in the army (which has a tradition of coups d'etat) is organized cannot, of course, be determined.

THE BOURGEOISIE: Successive economic decrees which eventually brought about the ruin of businessmen and merchants turned almost all of this class against union. At first, businessmen complained to former President and now "First Arab Citizen" Kuwatly but Kuwatly was so beseiged by protests that he had to have his phone disconnected. Then they sent delegations to Nasser, to the Syrian ministers, and later to Gen. Amr. Their protests grow stronger as economic conditions get worse.

Nasser has been unable to find a single representative of this class or of the old Syrian parties to replace the Baathist ministers, all of whom reigned. The present shake-up in the central and regional governments—in which the few Syrians, largely technicians or army intelligence men, serve in more than one capacity—shows that Nasser is now determined to rule without the traditional politicians and to oppose them. The appointment of Serraj to the No. 1 post in Syria underlines the failure of Amr's mission and, according to Beirut's **L'Orient,** "is the last card."

THE PEOPLE: When a Hams school teacher, Saad Drouby, a Communist, was tortured to death in prison—the first but not the last such victim of union—some 30,000 persons gathered in protest Later, many women's delegations and others defied arrest to express their sorrow.

Incidents continually occur between the people and the Egyptian police and agents swarming over the country; some of them develop into open conflicts and killings.

CP publications, which call for a "reconsideration of the bases of unity," appear regularly and are widely circulated. An appeal for a National Front against the Egyptian tyranny had wide distribution in all the main cities of Syria early last month. Many signs suggest that such a front is in the making.

Strong though Syrian opposition clearly is, Nasser now appears to feel he has the situation well in hand. One reason is the realization of the National Union and the divide-and-rule local administrative set-up. Another is that Nasser's "cruel dilemma" has been substantially eased—and the liberation struggle of the Syrian people made more difficult—by the setbacks suffered by democratic forces in Iraq.

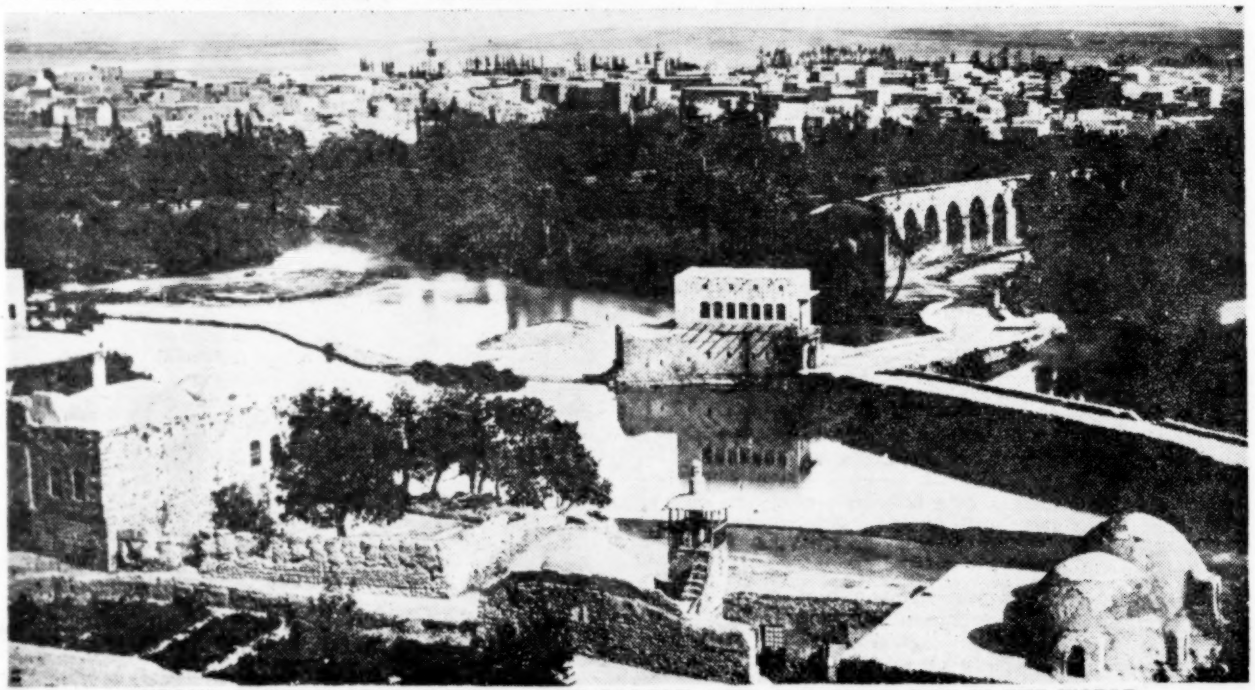
COMMON STRUGGLE: The anti-imperialist struggle of the Syrian and Iraqi peoples is a common one. Syrians need help from a democratic Iraq to regain their independence. And for a Republican Iraq, liberation of Syria is an imperative if its own independence is not to be permanently threatened by the U.A.R.

Five thousand years of history attest the reality of the struggle between the rulers of the Nile and Euphrates valleys for control of historical Syria. This conflict, waged openly and sharply in the last two years, is now muted temporarily by the common anti-democratic interests of Cairo and Baghdad. This turn in Iraq strengthens Nasser's hold on Syria and invites new U.A.R. intervention in Iraq (although this would seem to have little chance of success).

The most important facts in the Arab East today are these:

- Imperialism and reaction have proved incapable of destroying the people's movement in Iraq. This movement is now more solidly based than ever. The CP's **Ittihad Al Shaab,** always the biggest paper in the country, has, for example, doubled its circulation—in spite of being banned in seven provinces and subject to governmental and extra-governmental harassment everywhere.
- Nasser has been unable to cow the Syrian people.

The Arab masses look to the Iraqi and Syrian peoples, now as always the most energetic and revolutionary, as the vanguard and hope of their liberation movement which, although everywhere under harsh attack, remains alive and fighting in all Arab lands.



SYRIA'S CAPITAL OF DAMASCUS: THE OLDEST STILL-INHABITED CITY IN THE WORLD
The fate of the Arab masses of the Middle East may be decided here, and not in Cairo

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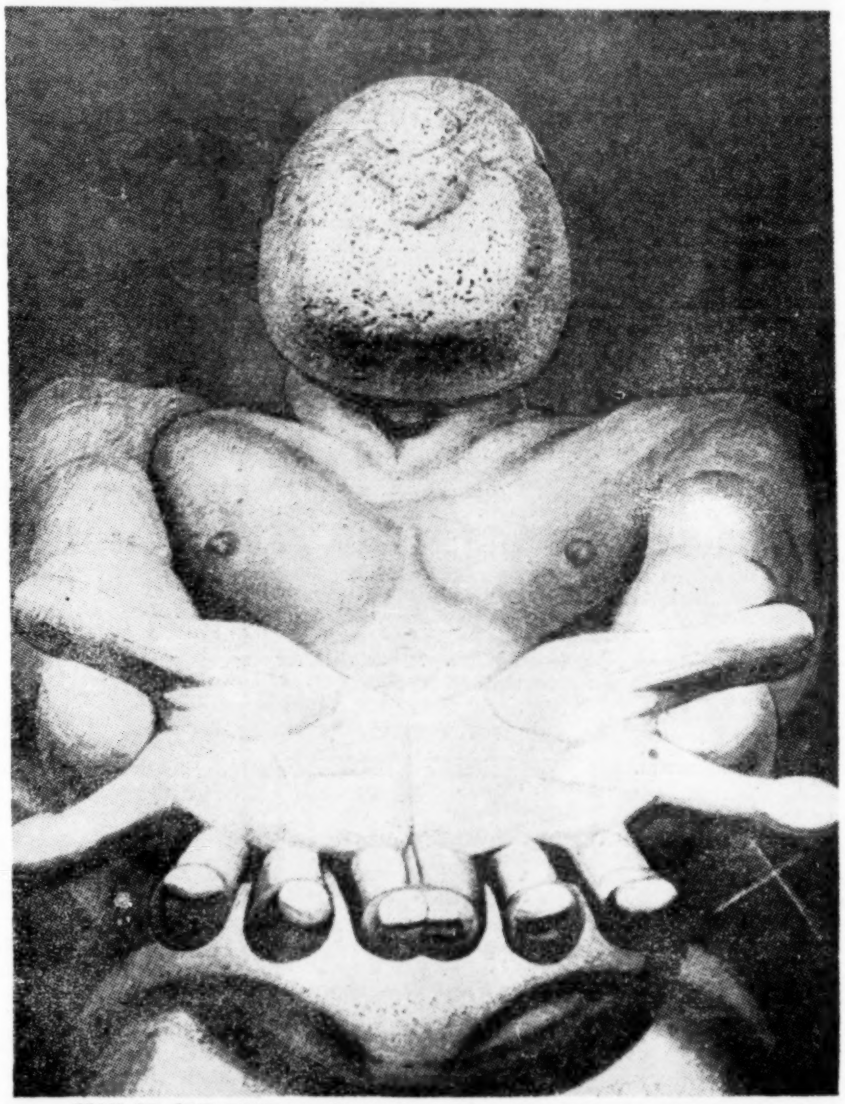
Two radio programs noted

JAMES ARONSON, editor of the GUARDIAN, will speak on New York's WBAI-FM Commentator series Thursday, Sept. 29, at 7 p.m. (repeated Sept. 30 at 10 a.m.).

A one-hour tape made by Rev. William Howard Melish of his travels through the South will be broadcast Oct. 6, from 8:15 to 9:15 p.m., by KPFA in Berkeley, Calif.

'EL MACARTISMO' SOUTH OF THE BORDER

Why Mexico jailed famed muralist Siqueiros



'MAN OF OUR TIME,' A 1947 WORK BY DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS

Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

SCREENED by a near-blackout of news across the border, **el macartismo** (McCarthyism) has been imported to this country.

The smuggling operation came to light when David Alfaro Siqueiros, world-famous painter and Communist intellectual (he recently became secretary of the CP here) was jailed Aug. 9 on a charge of "tending to cause social dissolution."

Siqueiros is still behind bars and can be kept there for an indefinite period. According to Mexican law, since the charge carries a maximum penalty of more than seven years, he is not subject to release in bail and his trial can be delayed for considerably more than a year.

Siqueiros is the last survivor of the distinguished triumvirate—Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros—generally credited with having launched and brought to its culmination the most impressive art movement of our time, the Mexican Renaissance of mural painting.

MIDNIGHT RAID: Siqueiros' arrest climaxed a week of demonstrations by students of the Normal School here, growing out of an intra-union conflict in the Teachers Union. The demonstrations were brutally attacked by the police; dozens of students were wounded, many hospitalized, scores arrested.

Siqueiros was at the home of a friend when, shortly before midnight, police broke in and seized him. Imprisoned with him was Filomeno Mata, son of the great patriot of the same name who, exactly 50 years ago, was jailed by dictator Porfirio Diaz for the last time on the very eve of the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution.

Siqueiros and Mata were charged with carrying forbidden weapons, resisting arrest, injuring agents of the public authority, endangering lives, and "social dissolution"—a versatile phrase as useful to police agents here as "criminal syndicalism" is in the U.S. These crimes were supposed to have been committed not by the defendant but by "other persons" during the student riot of Aug. 9 Neither Siqueiros nor Mata was accused of having attended the demonstration much less of having participated in any violence. Nevertheless they were charged with responsibility for all illegal acts committed on that occasion.

WIDELY OPPOSED: At the time of its passage in 1941, the law of "social dissolution" was widely opposed by juridical experts and most newspapers as curtailing fundamental constitutional rights. In the 19 years of its existence no one has ever been convicted under its provisions. Under the present administration, however, not only Mata and Siqueiros but hundreds of progressive trade union leaders have been jailed under it to eliminate them from leadership and to break strikes.

THE PAINTER IN PRISON

As the police camera sees him

Under the law, any one who by word or act "tends to provoke rebellion, sedition, tumult or riot" is presumed guilty of "social dissolution."

Excelsior, a leading daily, explained that persons who advocated, supported and approved such acts were deemed to be the "intellectual authors" of those acts, regardless of whether or not they were present. It was enough that Siqueiros and Mata were believed to support the students in their protest to warrant their being jailed indefinitely.

MALICIOUS FALSITY: From his cell Siqueiros issued a statement in which he said:

"I am the victim of a politician who, when he is unable to sustain an argument (in this case our public debate urging freedom for political prisoners and the defense of constitutional rights), pulls a gun and yells: 'Shut up!'

"Then he throws his opponent in jail, keeps him incommunicado for ten days, and in order to mislead public opinion puts into his mouth words and ideas of the most subtle and malicious falsity, thus distorting the whole case—perhaps the most monstrous legal action that Mexican democracy has seen in our time.

"I am not accused—nor is Filomeno Mata—of any material wrongdoing, but only of being ideologically guilty of everything—which is precisely what the government is guilty of."

Siqueiros refers here to the origin of the administration's campaign against him, soon after the suppression of the railroad workers' strike in March and April, 1959, when hundreds of trade union leaders were jailed in a lightning round-up during a single weekend. Siqueiros promptly helped organize the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and Constitutional Rights, in which he was a most active leader.

PLAIN TALK: His unpopularity with the regime increased when, toward the end of that year, only a few days in advance of the goodwill tour of Latin America by President López Mateos, Siqueiros visited Cuba and Venezuela, where he freely aired his own interpretation of social conditions in Mexico. In his speeches and in the course of answering questions, he made these statements:

- "The agrarian policy of the López Mateos government is a demogogic catch-all which, while babbling of 'continuing agrarian reforms,' attempts to obscure its real surrender to imperialism in its economic, diplomatic, cultural and labor policies."
- "The government presided over by Adolfo López Mateos has reached the lowest level of a descending line beginning with Avila Camacho, continuing an uninterrupted movement toward counter-revolution."
- "In Mexico the legislative power is in fact non-existent, a deaf-and-dumb organism destined merely to approve presidential mandates."
- "The President of the Republic has accumulated so many powers that he can well be called the Emperor of the Republic."
- "The press is absolutely in the hands of the presidential monarchy, thanks to its control . . . by various means of economic corruption."
- "In the first place, direct legal responsibility for this aggression [against the working class] rests upon the President of the Republic."

PRESS REACTION: The press was quick to seize upon these denunciations by the artist to treat his arrest and imprisonment as purely the result of a personal feud between him and President López. The papers have condemned Siqueiros for "insulting" the head of the state, while his principled criticism of the administration's reactionary policies have been largely ignored.

Mexican intellectuals have not been slow to protest the imprisonment of Siqueiros and to demand his release. They have pointed out that at the time of his arrest Siqueiros was painting murals glorifying the role of the Mexican people in the struggle for liberty and justice.

The Union of Professors of the National School of Plastic Arts reminded President Lopez that he had himself declared his government to be "a government of the extreme Left within the limits of the constitution." They called the arrest of the painter for "social dissolution" a major blunder as well as a negation of individual liberty. Some 87 musicians from various symphony orchestras, composers and graduates of the National Conservatory of Music supported the declaration of the art professors.

ARTISTS ACT: In addition, more than 100 leading Mexican painters, including Ignacio Aguirre, Olga Costa, Jesús Guerrero Galván, Xavier Guerrero, Elena Huerta, Jose Chavez Morado, Antonio Pujol and Alfredo Zalce, took the dramatic step of refusing to participate in the Second Biennial Exhibition of Mexican Art at the Palace of Fine Arts, so long as Siqueiros remained in prison.

Seven prominent foreign artists who had received invitations to exhibit at the Biennial addressed a joint letter to the director of the Institute of Fine Arts, the Minister of Education, and to President Lopez Mateos, requesting permission to visit Siqueiros in prison to pay him their respects. The artists were Jack Levine of the U.S., Raul Soldi and Juan Carlos Castagnino of Argentina, Emilio di Cavalcanti of Brazil, Oswaldo Guayasimin of Ecuador, Quirino Campofiorito of Brazil and Marina Nuñez del Prado of Bolivia. Several days later the group sent a follow-up telegram to the President. There was no reply.

It is expected that these gestures of respect for Siqueiros will be followed by demonstrations in his behalf by intellectuals throughout the world.

News you won't get in any other paper

The stories you read in the GUARDIAN—like the article on Siqueiros (above)—are stories which make the GUARDIAN a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a full year.

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OVER CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR HOLIDAYS

The Guardian's new tour to Cuba

OUR MAN IN HAVANA is arranging a jam-packed program for the GUARDIAN's trip to Cuba for the Christmas and New Year holidays. We plan for our party to arrive in Havana on Friday evening, Dec. 23, and to leave for home Monday morning, Jan. 2. The virtue in this schedule is that it falls wholly within the school holiday period, for the benefit of students (kindergarten and college alike); and for grown-ups it involves taking leave from work just for the short holiday week, plus all or part of the previous Friday. Departures on Saturday, Dec. 24, can be arranged, but these will miss the opening round of activities.

As our summer trip to Cuba was timed to coincide with the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the July 26 Revolutionary Movement, so our December-January visit is timed to coincide with the celebration of Cuba's Independence Day, Jan. 1, the island's second commemoration of the revolutionary victory of Jan. 1, 1959. On our first tour, we learned a lot on what to see and do in the new Cuba, and now the tough task of Our Man in Havana is to pack all our ideas and his into the nine days and nights from Dec. 24 through Jan. 1.

ON OUR FIRST day, Saturday, after a get-together of everyone on the tour in the morning, we'd like to have an after-lunch tour of the fine new government buildings in Havana's Plaza Civica including, hopefully, an invitation to the Presidential Palace. That evening, which will be Christmas Eve for people on our tour (though not for Cubans, who celebrate Christmas in January), we think would be the best occasion to visit one of Havana's show places such as the famous Tropicana, or perhaps have a huge family party at the wonderful new Rio Cristal park and restaurant. (It would be quite appropriate, by the way, to have a pre-dinner swim at Rio Cristal, a playground designed for adults and children alike.)

Sunday might be a great day to visit the vast and astonishing new Havana East Workers Housing Project and/or perhaps the famous Yacht Club which used to charge $2,000 for membership but now welcomes all, free. Sunday evening we should certainly go to the Teatro Nacional or one of Havana's fine, new 20c concerts.

Beginning Monday, we ought to try to squeeze in all or some of the following:

- An all-day bus ride into the countryside, with visits to the up-and-coming cooperatives which have replaced the huge land holdings of the latifundists.
- An all-day trip to alluring Varadero Beach, some 90 miles from Havana, the nearest point in Cuba to the Florida Keys, and the scene of some genuinely spectacular developments in housing and improvements for the benefit of Cuba's millions as well as visitors from abroad.
- A visit to Camp Columbia, now under reconstruction from Cuba's most forbidding military camp into a children's city.
- Visits to as many as possible of the institutions and agencies now seeing to heal the wounds of a neglected people, such as the huge boys' orphanage in Havana and the transitory home for old people now occupying one of the great mansions of the past which has been "intervened" for humane uses. Also the Torrens Reformatory, an example of the rehabilitation of youthful victims of the Batista regime; and one of the several normal schools where teachers are being trained for 1961's Year of Education, during which the nation hopes to wipe out **analfabetismo** (illiteracy).

We could go on and on, but prefer to wait advices from Our Man down there. As to the hotel, we don't know which of the several top-flight "deluxe" establishments will be able to accommodate us, but we have a private preference this time for the Habana Riviera, now renamed the Habana Teresa.

The overall cost, to and from Idlewild Airport in New York and including breakfast and one other meal each day, about $350, less for children under 12, who travel half fare. Drop us a line if you are considering going; and watch the GUARDIAN for further details.

A summer tour to the U.S.S.R.

IN RESPONSE to many inquiries, the GUARDIAN announces that it will sponsor another tour to Europe and the U.S.S.R. next June or July. The 1961 tour is expected to be of shorter duration than the 45-day trip of 1960. It is being planned to accommodate limited incomes and limited vacations. But those who wish to remain longer, or to visit countries not on the itinerary, will be able to do so.

Full details soon. But meanwhile make a non-committing tentative reservation with us.

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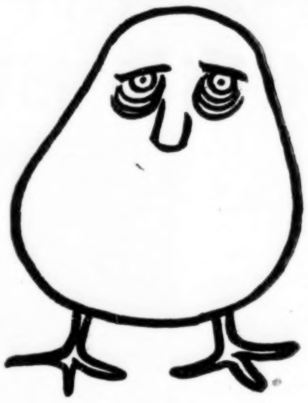

What is *THE REALIST* Really Like?

FUNNY You Should Ask That. We're pleased to introduce you to our mouthless mascot here -- and to The Realist for which he stands -- a unique magazine, irreverent, with criticism and satire not for all. Following are some highlights of four controversial [and available] issues.

#

* **An Impolite Interview with Henry Morgan**—the acid wit tells why he got fired from his nightly TV show, and rips into such subjects as astrology, phony liberalism, divorce laws, and his philosophy of celebrityhood.

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* **The Tolerant Pagan**—a regular department, analyzing religious socio-politics from Washington to Cuba to the Belgian Congo.

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* **Realist First Reader**—satirical primers explaining such things as telethons and the cold war to sensitive children.

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* **An Impolite Interview with Dr. Albert Ellis**—the author of "The American Sexual Tragedy" discusses rational psychotherapy, the proper use of profanity, the Norman Vincent Peale panacea, and the prudery of D. H. Lawrence.

#

* **An Independent Research Laboratory**—our gadfly in the advertising culture's ointment works far into the night, actually shaving sandpaper and counting coffee beans.

#

* **Negative Thinking**—miscellaneous heresies ranging from the poetry of Ezra Pound to the semantics of the soul.

#

* **The Second Coming**—a fable for our time, wherein the Messiah must swim the TV channels, from **What's My Line** to **The Ed Sullivan Show.**

#

* **An Impolite Interview with Jean Shepherd**—the iconoclastic radio humorist delves into such unlikely areas as the thought processes of un-housebroken dogs, the story behind the rent-a-beatnik ads, and the essential immorality of **"Tea and Sympathy."**

#

* **Core and Surface**—ranging from a three-way debate on Wilhelm Reich to a survey of dynamic neutralism.

#

* **Modest Proposals**—a column of Swiftian satire, taking such forms as a travel folder for the Dominican dictatorship or a handbook for employees of an oil company with operations in Saudi Arabia.

#

The four issues described above cost $1. They're yours FREE with a subscription. Rates: $3 for 10 issues, $5 for 20 issues.

#

THE REALIST, Dept. G-2

225 LAFAYETTE ST. NEW YORK 12, N.Y.

TWO MODERN YOUNG MEN GO CAMPAIGNING

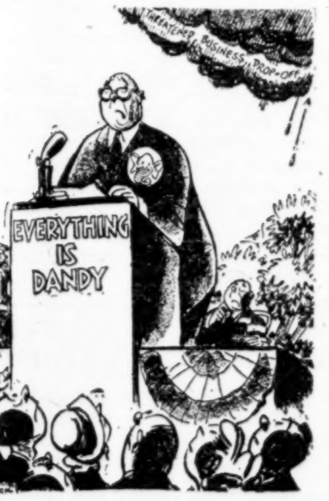
Kennedy and Nixon: The blurred image

AS THE PRESIDENTIAL race turned into October, Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy seemed to be running neck and neck. Political pollsters were cautious on predictions; they would say only that a large percentage of voters were undecided. Broadway bookmakers, usually reliable barometers, were quoting even money. The candidates, who often seem indistinguishable, each viewed the campaign the same way. Each said that he had started from behind but was gaining momentum for a victory in the home stretch.

Predictions were difficult because the contest seemed to be a battle of images, and it was not clear which candidate was in better focus. The anti-Catholic campaign against Kennedy also could not yet be measured in electoral votes.

THE TWO IMAGES: Nixon struck a pose as the sincere, determined and experienced statesman, ready to take over President Eisenhower's mantle. He was willing to accept any of the President's prestige that might rub off, but he hinted that he would be more aggressive than his predecessor. To keep his image clear, he had to be sure not to slip into the "old Nixon" character which was abhorred by many. With a general farm crisis, heavy unemployment and a "recession" looming at home, Nixon sought to emphasize foreign policy issues, where he and his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, could claim superior experience.

Kennedy offered the voters a picture of an aggressive, slightly bookish but earnest young man, ready to replace a sluggish administration with a bold program to rekindle the dream of an American Century. In accepting Nixon's challenge to concentrate on foreign affairs, Kennedy ran a considerable risk because of his lack of experience. But Kennedy said his political weather vane told him the country was angry at our loss of world prestige and voters were seeking a bolder course.



Herblock, Washington Post

"Rain, rain, please remember, stay away until November."

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE: Kennedy was also gambling that the anti-Catholic feeling would hurt him only in those Southern states which had gone to Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. As a counter-balance, he hoped that the religious issue would unify his Catholic support in the industrial states and might also turn some votes to him from those who wanted to protest bigotry.

Jointly the candidates presented the image of two well-bred, modern young men, who approached problems with cold efficiency. Behind each was a team of other modern young men using modern techniques which reduced campaigning to a science.

Actually, the only modern aspects of the campaign are the extensive use of airplanes, which permits the candidates to cover several states in one day, and the emphasis on television as a means of reaching the voters. In one day, Nixon started in Maryland, spoke in Indiana in the morning, made another speech in Texas in the afternoon and ended the day at a California meeting. Kennedy in one day made two stops in Iowa, two in South Dakota and one each in North Dakota, Montana and Wyoming.

MAXIMUM EXPOSURE: The candidates have not yet opened up their paid television campaigns. In addition to the hours of free time provided by the networks for debate, each will dig deep into the campaign treasuries for TV programs.

N.Y. **Post** columnist William Shannon said both were "operating on the 'maximum exposure' theory." He said: "Both candidates apparently share a common assumption that the content of speeches is less important than the mere appearance of the candidates on the scene."

The campaign has been run thus far with all the old-fashioned hokum, although the candidates seem more uncomfortable at baby-kissing than some of their predecessors. At Sioux Falls, S.D., Kennedy was "inducted" into the Sioux Tribe and crowned with a feathered bonnet by Chief Hollow Horn Bear. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Russell Baker reported that Kennedy took the ceremony "like a politician about to be photographed in a night club with a blonde and not his wife.' Baker said: "As the chief began lowering the headdress, the Senator's arms began rising defensively. And as the chief got the headdress down upon the famous forelock, the Senator seized it and lifted it off again."

WHEN I WAS A BABY: Nixon is also doing "the folksy bit." He often refers to his boyhood. In Des Moines, he went further back. He told a breakfast meeting: "When I was a baby I would have to cry so loud that my father would hear me over the noise of the tractor. That's why I can speak so loud today."

He also refers continually to his interest in sports. In Roanoke, Va., he initiated a discussion of the batting ability of Harmon Killebrew of the Washington Senators.

Although Nixon was once chosen one of the world's best dressed men by the London fahion magazine, **Tailor and Cutter,** he has spent most of the campaign interchanging two blue-gray suits, which look as though they came from off the plain pipe racks of a chain store.

THE KENNEDY CLAN: With a large family, Kennedy has certain built-in advantages. All his brothers and brothers-in-law are leaders on his campaign team. The family fortune happily allows them to work without pay. Kennedy's mother also got on the stump last month. She toured the Bronx lecturing women's groups on the subjejct: My son the Senator. She said that he had begun his political education when he was "knee high" and he was already intimate with world affairs at the age "when most young men were spending their time in just the irresponsible outdoor sports."

BOBBY AND JACK KENNEDY

It's a family affair

Kennedy's campaign got a large uplift when the Princess of Monaco, the former Grace Kelly, announced that she would campaign for him among servicemen in France and Italy. Some undecided GI voters, it was believed, were sure to be swayed by her image.

LOUISIANA'S NEW 'WELFARE' LAW

Removal of 23,000 kids from relief seen tied to civil rights fight

HUNGRY AND HOMELESS children are rummaging in the garbage cans of New Orleans for scraps of food while city welfare administrators investigate the possibility of putting them back on relief rolls. They were removed in July under a new "illegitimacy" law.

The only sources of food for the 23,000 children have been churches, private charities and individuals since the beginning of August. The National Urban League estimates that 75 to 100 families are receiving eviction notices every day. More than 90% of those affected are Negro.

More than 5,000 families were removed from relief rolls under a new "Suitable Homes Law." It stops money payments to families in which the mother has an illegitimate child after receiving public welfare assistance, prohibits payments to families in which the parents are unmarried, and stops payments to families whose homes are not considered suitable for children.

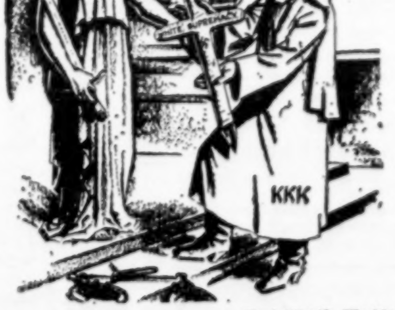
NO ACTION: Under Federal law a "suitable home" requirement applies to married as well as unmarried mothers. The Louisiana law makes illegitimacy the sole test. Appeals to Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, were made by the Urban League on Sept. 1 and 12. The League reports that Flemming promised "investigation and quick action," but no probe has been started.

In a letter to Flemming Sept. 12 the League said there was "no question as to the authority which the Federal government carries in this matter since 78% of payments to Aid to Dependent Children cases as of April 1 were from the Federal government." Nelson Jackson, associate director of the League, has called for pressure on the Federal government for intervention.

In response to a Federal request for an explanation, the Louisiana Welfare Board said that as mothers prove suitability of their homes they will be reinstated to relief rolls. The Board estimated that by Nov. 15 half of the children would be reinstated. So far 250 out of 6,000 have been reinstated in New Orleans. Associated Catholic Charities has requested that the pace be stepped up.

AID FROM ABROAD: In the meantime, a world-wide appeal, "Operation Feed the Babies," has been launched by the Urban League. First response from outside the U.S. came from 15 City Councilwomen of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, who airlifted food parcels and are raising funds to aid the stricken families.

Theresa Russell, who is leading what the British women call the "shame Governor Davis campaign," said: "I am starting to receive abusive letters from diehard racialists now. They are disgusting, and just what one could expect from people who would deny children food."


THIS ONE IS FAR MORE BECOMING!
WHITE SUPREMACY
KKK

Fort Worth Weekly

The hate group and segregationist concept of freedom

Other aid includes 20,000 pounds of potatoes from the New Orleans local of the International Longshoremen's Association; a ton of food from New Orleans Negro taxi drivers, and funds from local churches. The New Orleans Urban League's emergency reception center feeds about 300 families a day.

REPRISAL CHARGED: The League has denounced the welfare move as "an act of reprisal or of intimidation against the Negro population which has been insistently pressing for an end to racial segregation in education and other areas of living."

The NAACP has said that the law is "unquestionably related to the drive for school integration and voter registration." The Louisiana law, the NAACP pointed out, is patterned after one in Mississippi — also passed when Negroes began pressing for civil rights.

The London **Observer** commented: "The door has been opened for removing 'immoral' Negro women from voting rolls, as well as welfare rolls. And this spotlight on the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes has effectively reinforced fears of the white people about 'mixing' their children in integrated schools."

In face of protests Governor Jimmie H. Davis said Sept. 22 that the mothers of children taken from the rolls were "a bunch of prostitutes." Later the same day the Governor's office altered the statement to say that welfare records showed that "some of these people are no more than prostitutes." A third statement finally said: "Some of these are very fine people. And I guess everybody is entitled to a mistake."

THE FIGHT-BACK: The racial situation in New Orleans is tense. Seven members of the Congress of Racial Equality were arrested for picketing a Woolworth store and one is charged with criminal anarchy. Six members of the Consumers League were arrested for picketing a shopping center in a demand for non-discriminatory hiring policies. They were charged with disturbing the peace and obstructing public passages.

But the protests go on. On Sunday, Sept. 18, more than 200 Negroes gathered outside the jail and conducted a prayer meeting. Twenty-five ministers took part in the service. The next day 1,500 Negroes paraded through the streets demanding jobs and a boycott of businesses that refuse to hire Negroes.

In another aspect of the struggle the New Orleans NAACP Youth Council has issued a call to Negro parents urging them to put their children in white schools on Nov. 14, the scheduled date for integration in New Orleans.

The Negroes who are fighting back have issued calls for help. The Urban League announced that it was "calling on the mothers of America to save the starving children." Non-perishable food, vitamins and funds for rent, medicine and clothing should be sent to Operation Feed the Babies, 2108 Jackson Av., New Orleans, La.

Steel union

(Continued from Page 1)

others attribute it to a "general recession." Whatever the cause, 150,000 steel workers are unemployed and 350,000 are working a short week.

NO-STRIKE PLAN: McDonald promised the convention "programs and ideas" to alleviate the situation. One idea he offered was for a joint effort with the companies for a program to keep the industry permanently free of strikes. McDonald's program included a 32-hour, four-day work week; extended vacations for workers with long seniority; and a legislative program to increase school, highway and home construction. He said the union would seek shorter work week legislation in the next Congress and he would also press the fight at negotiations in 1962.

No one at the convention opposed McDonald's program. But while the band played "When the Saints Go Marching In" a lone dissenter arrived—Sen. John F. Kennedy. Discarding his prepared text, the Democratic presidential candidate said: "I would prefer the solution of this economy going ahead at such full blast that in a 40-hour week we would barely produce what we can consume."

Kennedy blamed Republican conservatism for steel unemployment. He asked the union to "try an administration which is dedicated to full economic growth" before it pressed for a 32-hour week.

In his prepared speech, which he told reporters he stood by, Kennedy called for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to give the President additional powers to handle nation-wide strikes.

KENNEDY BACKED: Despite the obvious contradictions, McDonald insisted there was "no basic difference" between him and Kennedy. He pledged the union's full support for Kennedy's campaign. McDonald was one of Kennedy's earliest and most enthusiastic supporters. At the Democratic party convention in Los Angeles he threatened to fire a union official wearing a Stevenson button.

McDonald has had to run the union with threats since he took over after Phil Murray died in 1952. He stopped working in a steel mill in 1923 when Murray took him on as his private secretary. He has been on the union payroll ever since, except for a stint at Carnegie Tech's Drama School.

McDonald inherited Murray's power and machine but not his popularity. For the first time in the union's history there was a contest for the presidency in 1957. An obscure furnace stoker, Donald Rarick from McKeesport, Pa., challenged McDonald. Rarick had one issue: the union had raised dues from $3 to $5 a month at the same time it raised McDonald's salary to $50,000 plus an open-end expense account.

DAVID J. McDONALD (l) AND RIVAL DONALD C. RARICK
The rebel leader got the full treatment from the strong-arm boys

STRONG OPPOSITION: In the official count McDonald won, 404,000 to 223,000. Rarick claimed that officials had stuffed the ballot boxes and he had been "counted out." In any event, the vote was close enough to give McDonald a scare. At the 1958 convention he sponsored resolutions to expel the "traitors."

But Rarick's influence has continued to grow. He was elected president of a 4,000-member local. Others in his Dues Protest Committee have won local office.

There is also opposition to McDonald on other issues. Many feel the strike settlement opened the way for speed-up and further unemployment. Negroes are particularly bitter about McDonald. They feel he has not fought for upgrading on the job and Negroes are excluded from high union office. Just before the convention, key Negro leaders in District 15 in Pennsylvania organized a committee to fight inside the union.

McDonald's opposition, however, is not too well organized. The dissidents tend to distrust each other and they have not yet rallied around a single program. Rarick is sometimes accused of "soft unionism." But there have been some steps toward unity. Rarick's group has formed the Organization for Membership Rights and in some locals it has joined Negroes in presenting joint slates against the administration.

Some months ago an interracial opposition ticket in Local 1299 in Ecorse, Mich., beat an all-white administration slate by 2 to 1. But the union's district director declared the election invalid because voting machines were used.

STRONG-ARM TACTICS: McDonald ran the convention with a closed fist. In his keynote speech he warned that he would tolerate "no nonsense" from insurgents. He said they were "traitors" and "stinking stooges" and urged their expulsion from the union.

On the first day Rarick-supporter Anthony Tomko, president of a 5,000-member local, was beaten up by ushers for passing out anti-McDonald leaflets. Two days later, while the union's attorney Arthur J. Goldberg was on the platform calling for intra-union unity, Rarick got a working over in the rear of the hall.

According to Rarick, he was talking to a friend when a union organizer began to beat him. Others joined the attack and some sided with Rarick. In the melee Rarick's coat was torn off and he was soundly pummeled.

From the platform McDonald insisted that Rarick had deliberately provoked the incident. He said he abhorred violence but he added he did not know "how soft we have to be."

Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell, who spoke just after the fight, said it was unfortunate that violence should take place "in a democratic union such as this."

CHARGES BROUGHT: Rarick asked Mitchell for an investigation under the Kennedy - Landrum - Griffin Act which supposedly protects democratic rights of rank and file union members. He said a "reign of terror" prevailed at the convention. Friends had warned him, he said, that he would be assaulted to intimidate his supporters. He also charged that 1,200 of the 3,500 delegates were staff employes who should not be eligible as delegates. Mitchell said he asked the FBI to investigate.

Rarick took another licking the next day when Joseph Murray, son of the late union president, announced that he was "shocked" to learn that his name had been linked with the insurgents. Rarick said that Murray had been sent into his group's ranks as a "plant in a game of duplicity and treachery unparalleled in the American labor movement." He said that Murray had not only agreed to run for vice president but he had brought a "complete sheaf of derogatory" information about McDonald.

After Murray's speech Rarick packed up and went home. But he reaffirmed that he would head a slate in next year's elections.

To sum up the convention, Al Whitehouse, district director from Cincinnati, proposed a resolution calling McDonald "the greatest leader in the world today." It passed the convention, but the real vote will come in February.

NEW YORK

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PHONOGRAPH RECORDS!
See Page 12

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REPORT FROM CUBA — CARLETON BEALS and **ROBERT TABER** plus Cuban entertainers. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m., 32 W Randolph, Hall C-2 Ausp: Chicago Chapt. Fair Play for Cuba Committee, P.O. Box 4555, Chicago 80. Adm: $1.

CLEVELAND

MOVIE AND A TALK
MR. LOUIS WEINSTOCK, business manager of "The Worker," will talk about his last month's trip to Hungary, Czechoslovakia & Germany. **FRI., OCT. 7, 8 P.M.** Russian American Home, 13700 Kinsman Rd. Ausp: Mid-West Edition "The Worker."

DETROIT

ON TV—Hear **Robert Himmel,** Socialist Workers candidate for governor, on WWJ-TV (Channel 4), Sun., Oct. 2, 4:15 p.m., and Sun., Oct. 9, 4 p.m. Hear **Myra Tanner Weiss,** SWP vice-presidential candidate, on "The Case for Socialism in 1960," Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Hear **Farrell Dobbs,** SWP presidential candidate, on "The Socialist Program for Peace," Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward

LOS ANGELES

THE PEACE ISSUE & THE 1960 ELECTIONS
Statements of Kennedy and Nixon on Foreign Policy
Current Session of United Nations and its Significance
Prospects for "Peaceful Coexistence" and Present World Situation
SPEAKER: Theodore Edwards, Socialist Radio Commentator & Lecturer
Fri., Oct. 7, 8:15 p.m., 1702 E. 4 St.
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Questions, Discussions, Refreshments

PHILADELPHIA

BANQUET, celebrating 41st Anniversary Communist Party—Fri., Oct. 7, 7 p.m., at Diamond Hall, 249 S. 9th St., nr. Locust. Full course dinner, entertainment. Gus Hall, Gen. Secy., CP USA, will speak. For reservations ($4) phone T. Nabried, CE 2-0512 or F. Gabow, CH 8-4667.

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Hear **MYRA TANNER WEISS,** 1960 vice-presidential candidate, Socialist Workers Party, speak on "The Case for Socialism in 1960." Also guest speaker, Scott Gray Jr., 1958 I.S.P. candidate for Attorney General. Gala celebration—refreshments. Sat., Oct. 1, 8 p.m., 116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.) Cont. $1. Ausp: Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Comm.

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THE GALLERY

A "FREE WORLD" DRAMA ended in West Germany last month on a note of tragedy: the villains won and the heroes were vanquished. Two years ago Kurt Sumpf, a German Jew who fled to Israel to escape the Nazis, returned to Koeppern, a farming village near Frankfurt in West Germany. He opened a cafe and lived in comparative peace for three months. But anti-Semites began a campaign of terror against him, while obliging police turned their backs. In a few weeks they had wrecked his cafe and beaten him brutally.

Sumpf took 11 of his persecutors to court. Thirty-two witnesses, including police, swore that none of the defendants had tormented Sumpf. But haulage contractor Max Kaufmann, a Gentile, testified: "The charges are correct; I cannot lie." As a result of Kaufmann's testimony six of the 11 were convicted.

Soon after the trial, Sumpf was forced to move to Frankfurt by continued anti-Semitic attacks. His tormentors followed him with insults and threats. Eventually Sumpf gave up and came to the United States.

Kaufmann became the town pariah after the trial. People sneered at him in public; neighbors snubbed him and his family. Police bombarded him with tickets for alleged traffic violations.

Kaufmann's business fell off. His trucks' tires were slashed and the brakes disconnected. Two of his trucks were in suspicious accidents, causing $1,800 damage.

When word got out that Kaufmann was planning to move to Frankfurt, he was warned by telephone: "We will search you out and finish off your business again."

But newspaper accounts of Kaufman's woes brought offers of help from around the world. Last month he took one of the offers. Kaufmann packed his family and belongings and moved to Holland. He had been fairly well off, but when he left Germany he was penniless.

A SEVERE LABOR SHORTAGE in Buckingham Palace, the London **Socialist Leader** suggested, may lead to a "do-it-yourself" campaign in the royal family. Palace employes are organized in a union, but their wages are still below standard. Stokers and maintenance men struck for a wage increase in 1948 and in succeeding years negotiations have been bitter. The royal chauffeur is paid $22.40 a week; royal housemaids get $12 a week. Maids live three to a room in cold basement apartments in the palace. Many have left for better paying jobs, bitter because the Duke of Edinburgh gets $112,000 a year, the Duke of Gloucester gets $98,000 and the Queen Mother is paid $196,000 annually . . . Radio Station WBAZ in Kingston, N.Y., announced that Premier Khrushchev's name would be deleted from all news broadcasts while he is in New York . . . When stained glass that decorated a wall in the French Ministry of Finance was removed, the wall underneath was found to be white and clean while the rest of the wall was dirty. To unify the color and preserve the ministry's reputation for economy, the Minister of Finance ordered that the clean part of the wall be dirtied . . . On the religious issue in the Presidential campaign, the Pecos Valley Presbytery noted that Vice President Nixon "in his public utterances already has gone against the teaching of his religion [Quaker] to embrace a military policy of massive retaliation." . . . Nudist candidate for President Robert Clogher, who is willing to "apocalyptize his fundaments" for peace and justice, debated Rev. Braxton Sawyer in Fort Smith, Ark., on the question: Resolved, that bathing suits should be abolished. Candidate Clogher writes from Holy City, Calif., that if elected he promises to wear no man's collar.

London Daily Mirror
"I said: 'It's playing our tune!'"

DR. J. W. HOLLINGSWORTH, chief medical officer of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, reports in the current issue of the **New England Journal of Medicine** that the rate of leukemia and other forms of cancer among survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bombings is "much higher" than for the general population. But he says there has been ""no demonstrable increase" in miscarriages, still-births or abnormal babies . . . The DeMille movie theater in New York is issuing a special casting call for usherettes for its forthcoming showing of "Spartacus." Experience is not vital, but candidates will have to have an "ability to wear the toga." It seems that during the movie's run, usherettes will be dressed in specially designed togas . . . Harold Pollak, chief counsel of the foreign assets division of the Treasury Dept., said of U.S. citizens attending the Peking Opera during its stay in Canada: "Technically it would be a violation to attend the opera. But while we're not prepared to issue licenses to go to it, we don't contemplate prosecuting anyone for going." Under a special embargo on China enacted during the Korean War, persons could be jailed for ten years and fined $10,000 for "doing business with the enemy." . . . Historic James Monroe House in Washington is almost covered with a coat of new red paint. Jaffe Construction Co., which owns the building, had ordered the painting of an adjacent building. But zealous painters, after finishing their assigned job, just kept going and had painted three-fourths of the shrine before someone noticed.

—**Robert E. Light**

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ALP 154—PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION, Moussorgsky; and **SONATA NO. 7 in B-FLAT MAJOR, Opus 83; Prokofiev;** Sviatoslav Richter.

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NEWSPAPER

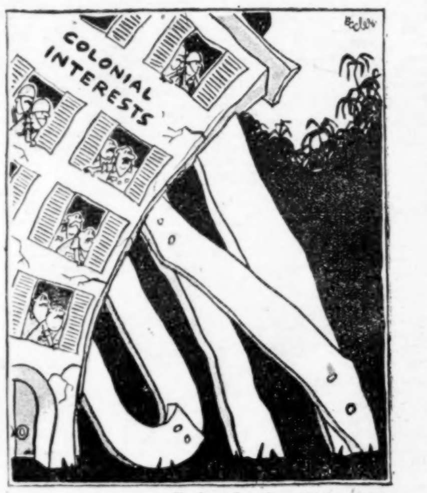
the SPECTATOR

The view from London

PRIME MINISTER Macmillan has flown over to say his twopence-worth to the UN Assembly, but few think it will make much difference. After an all-out press and radio effort to spread confusion about disarmament and Africa and contempt of Mr. K, the uneasy feeling grows in "official circles" that those damned Russians have got the ball again.

It was Mr. K who suggested that heads of states should meet at the Assembly—and all the top Asian and African leaders are there or going. The **Observer** notes that it's a challenge to the Free World to help under-developed nations "to the hilt" through UN; but that has been said so often before, and Free Worlders show as little zeal as ever to divert capital from super-profitable cold-war enterprises into comparative philanthropy.

The essential question, "what **kind** of UN?", has been studiously avoided in the pre-Assembly propaganda barrage here. Hardly a word has been said about the absurd exclusion of the world's largest country, almost no attempt made to analyze the Afro-Asian misgivings about Hammarskjold's role in the Congo. Yet it is evident that misgivings about the UN are only deepened by U.S. boorishness toward statesmen attending the Assembly as they have every right to do. Each insult to heads of states that stand up to Washington bluster further underlines the U.S. determination to make and keep the UN its creature.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

BUT THE key question is now inevitably going to be answered by the very membership of the new non-white states, which begins to put the palefaces where they belong proportionately in the parliament of nations. Faced with this, "inspired" British commentators are preparing the public for the period ahead when the U.S., not the U.S.S.R. will be constantly resorting to the "veto" in the Security Council. We are getting timely reminders that the "veto" was a U.S.-British notion which at first didn't appeal to Moscow.

Equally obvious to foreign-affairs officials and pundits here, but perhaps too embarrassing to mention, is that if the U.S.S.R. didn't exist there would be no such threat to white supremacy as the present Assembly presents and symbolizes. Not only the new UN members, but many or most of the existing non-white members, would still be ineligible colonies—and certainly the Africans know it.

Up to the last minute we were informed that there was no chance of Ike receiving Mr. K, but the **News Chronicle**'s perceptive UN correspondent William Forrest cabled that Mr. K's "appeal for serious negotiations" on arrival was "a challenge that cannot be ignored." Forrest doubted if Ike could afford to take to the golf course after his Assembly speech, since "the top people will be all together in a way they have not been since the Versailles peace conference." Ike actually yielded 24 hours to the world, but the lure of the links proved too much and he returned to Washington before Mr. K spoke.

MEANWHILE AFRICANS in London demonstrated militantly in Trafalgar Square against Hammarskjold's partisan maneuverings in the Congo, and for UN implementation of the Security Council resolution to help the elected central government of that country. From a predominantly black sea of faces in the square and on the Nelson Column plinth, waving banners said: "All Africa supports Lumumba," "Imperialists Get Out." One banner particularly recalled: "Congo Uranium was Used for Hiroshima."

The veteran anti-colonialist MP Fenner Brockway reminded whites in the audience that their race had committed in the Congo atrocities comparable with "nothing in all history except Hitler's massacre of the Jews." The rally acclaimed Brockway's proposal that the UN should be represented in the Congo by an all-African commission from the independent states. African speakers denounced Hammarskjold for supporting Kasavubu, whose actions were totally illegal since the Congo constitution requires a two-thirds parliamentary vote to remove a prime minister. They charged that, whereas Hammarskjold promised to remove all Belgian troops in a week, there were now more of them there than before.

AROUND THE SQUARE, newsvendors briskly conducted the top-circulation war between **News of the World** and **The People**, one or other of which is the Sabbath solace of more than half the families in Britain. **News of the World** offered "My Three Queens and I" by the Shah of Persia and a Bardot tell-all series featuring a photo of BB's nude backside. **The People** challenged this with Charles Chaplin Jr. on "The Meanness of a Millionaire Clown" (his father); the present Earl Lloyd George on the "astonishing philanderings" and "capacity as a lover" of the World War I premier (his father); the inside story of the Princess Margaret-Armstrong-Jones menage by "Cronin the Butler"—and a closer shot of BB's b.

—Cedric Belfrage